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Economic Effects of War

PEACE AIMS

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

TO FINANCE PADLOCK APPEALS

C. P. WRIGHT

Editorials

Book Reviews

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THE CANADIAN FORUM

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THE CANADIAN FORUM

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Hitler Makes War

TOWARDS the end of August Hitler seemed to be hesitating. Then the tempo of the crisis suddenly accelerated; the Russo-German non-aggression treaty was signed, Poland was invaded, Britain declared war—all within ten days. For the ultimate causes of this war all countries and all governments must share the blame, but the immediate responsibility for it lies squarely with the German dictator. The invasion of Poland, whatever the grievances over the Polish Corridor, was pure aggression, and Hitler's only reasonable proposals for negotiations, the 16-point plan, were made in such a way and at such a time, that none was given the time to consider them. His whole behaviour was true to form, true to the hysterical fanatic who wrote *Mein Kampf*. Probably he did not believe that the British would fight; he had got away with so much! He ignored the hardening of British opinion since the final invasion of Czechoslovakia, ignored that the British government had in truth reversed its policy, that the Opposition in the House at Westminster was at least as determined as their government, that there would be no second Munich, as is shown clearly in the Parliamentary debates of that fateful weekend. Or else he was prepared to plunge the world into war in any case.

The Russian Sphinx

THE foreign policy of the Soviets remains the great question mark. No one knows the answer. Some things, however, are clear in retrospect. We know now that, in spite of all denials at the time, the retirement of Litvinov marked a change and the ascendancy of the Molotov faction, ever opposed to his policy of collective security alongside the capitalist democracies. After the treaty with France and England failed, one could expect Russian neutrality; one might even admit that, considered entirely on the level of power-politics, a rapprochement with Germany was a clever stroke. What is astounding in

its cynicism is the timing of the Russian moves: the military missions invited to Moscow as if to encourage Britain and France to involve themselves deeper in Poland through hope of Russian help and then, at the moment that Hitler seemed to hesitate, the non-aggression pact to encourage him to fight by securing his Eastern front. Except on the assumption that Stalin wanted to make sure of war between the capitalistic powers, that timing does not make sense. After this, even the Russian invasion of Poland, by then clearly defeated, was relatively honest. Certainly it is not to Hitler's advantage to be cut off from the Ukrainian promised land, to hand over nearly half Poland to Russia, to be cut off from the Roumanian oilfields.

A full military alliance between Germany and Russia is not impossible but it still seems very unlikely; the Russians cannot want a victorious Hitler on their doorstep. If they stick to their announced policy of neutrality in the main, they can embarrass Hitler considerably. But their recent double-cross foreshadows a more sinister policy: an attitude varying with the fortunes of war in order to exhaust all the belligerents, thus prolonging the sufferings of millions. Moreover, the recent events in Estonia suggest the possibility that Stalin may have thrown over the policy of no desire for others' land which has been the mainstay of Soviet foreign policy and its strength as an influence for peace these last ten years. If that should be, then Russian imperialism may become a great danger to future peace.

Canada Goes to War

CONSTITUTIONAL lawyers, in days to come, will be able to discuss the effect of the events that followed the British declaration of war upon the legal status of the Dominions in the Commonwealth. Ireland declared itself neutral and remains so, if not with absolute strictness. The government of South Africa wished to follow

the same course but had to give way to the majority desiring limited participation. Our own Parliament was summoned to decide. We have often argued in the past that for that decision to be really free, special legislation was required, and it may well be argued that Canada was already at war before the House met. Nevertheless, in fact if not in law, the members were free to vote against the Address in reply and thereby to condemn the government's policy. What the decision would be was, of course, a foregone conclusion.

But there were some doubts, and some opposition. Noone, who was in the House on Friday, September 8th, is likely to forget the speech of Mr. Woodsworth, or the sympathy and respect he evoked on all sides of the House for his courage and his devotion to his ideals. Though Mr. Woodsworth's personal stand was not fully shared by his party, he could rightly claim to represent a considerable body of opinion in the country when he protested against participation in this war. It is well that his point of view should have been so uncompromisingly expressed in Parliament that day; that it received a courteous and attentive hearing was not only a personal tribute to the C. C. F. leader—which Mr. Woodsworth remains—but a striking testimony to the reality and value of our democratic institutions. A majority decision is far less resented if and where the minority has the opportunity to freely express its own dissent.

The Issue Clarified

THE issue before the House was somewhat confused by the fact that the Prime Minister's proposals that day went little beyond provisions for home defence and economic assistance to Great Britain. Such measures very few people in this country would oppose, even among those who fear the economic and political results of participation in the fuller sense.

A clearer alignment was reached on the Monday, when Mr. Grant McNeil moved a C.C.F. amendment to the War Appropriations bill of \$100 million. The money was granted in part for "the conduct of naval, military and air operations in or beyond Canada". This Mr. McNeil wished to amend to "in or adjacent to Canada", thus bringing the question of expeditionary forces squarely before the House. The amendment was defeated by 151 to 16, the C. C. F. group being supported by 10 French Canadians. The full C. C. F. statement of policy we print below. It appears to be based on a realisation of the ultimate economic causes as well as the more immediate

implications of the war situation, and of the political and economic effects of expeditionary forces and conscription upon the unity and the political structure of Canada. That such future consequences must be taken into account was emphasised by leading speakers of all parties. It is to be hoped that they will not be lost sight of as the war atmosphere deepens.

Who Pays?

ONE of the things which the inquisitive citizen will have noticed before now is the remarkable tenderness with which our financial journals and the financial pages of the Toronto and Montreal dailies have been treating the government. Take a look again at the government's first war budget, and you won't have to ask why. The poorer classes of consumers are going to have to pay heavily for the war in increased taxes on tea, coffee, beer, soft drinks, canned fish, salted or smoked meats, and gas and electricity used for domestic purposes (gas and electricity used for industrial purposes are untaxed). Those whose incomes are sufficient to bring them within the income-taxpaying group are going to have to pay a flat increase of one-fifth on their personal income-tax. All these indirect taxes are in force already, and the increased income-tax will be collected next spring on 1939 incomes.

But the picture is quite different for our business corporations. Corporation income tax is increased from 15 to 18%, which is something. But the government's great innovation is its excess profits tax; and the more this is examined the more hollow is seen to be the official pretense of seeking "equality of sacrifice". Corporations have one of two bases on which to estimate excess profits. A company may pay 50% of all profits in excess of its average income for the years 1936-39. Or it may pay a graduated tax consisting of 10% on profits between 5 and 10%, 20% on profits between 10 and 15%, 30% on profits between 15 and 20%, 40% on profits between 20 and 25%, and 60% on profits over 25%. Work this out for a company with capitalization of two million dollars and profits in a year of \$250,000 to \$500,000; and see what a nice little sum the company will have for distribution to shareholders after it has settled with the government. To make things still nicer for our corporations, these increased taxes do not apply to 1939 income. They will start to be collected only on 1940 income, which means that they will not come into the government treasury until the spring of 1941. In addition to this there are to be special arrange-

ments by which companies investing in new plants for war production will be permitted liberal amortization allowances; and the special deductions from their income tax which were initiated last spring to encourage new capital investments are continued.

No wonder that all our more intelligent business men have ceased to talk about the need for a "national" government. It's going to be a lovely war for them. The only annoyance so far consists in these regulations of the Foreign Exchange Control Board which seem to be designed to restrict speculation by Canadians on the New York Stock Exchange. But as against this, our government has carefully refrained from introducing a capital gains tax, such as the United States has had for years, which would transfer into the public treasury a portion of the juicy profits which war conditions offer to stock exchange gamblers.

War and Democracy

THE defeat of Hitler and all he stands for may well be vital for the future of democracy, and a Hitler victory would be a calamity for democrats everywhere. But to secure the future of democracy it is also essential that we should continue to practise democracy at home, and to believe in it ourselves. Certain obvious restrictions are necessary in war time, especially in military matters, but, in war as in peace, free discussion remains the only sound basis of policy-making. War by its very nature tends to authoritarianism and repression, and this tendency must at all costs be restricted. Neither reactionary elements nor profiteers must be allowed to use the war to their own advantage, to disseminate undemocratic propaganda or the kind of racial philosophy that is characteristic of the Nazi way of life. The Federal government, through its Prime Minister, showed itself aware of the danger. Mr. Mackenzie King said on September 8th:

"May I say that I was greatly pleased to hear my hon. friend (Dr. Manion), at an early moment in the course of his speech, make a plea for toleration and moderation. Never is such a plea more necessary than at a time like the present. It is necessary in this House of Commons; it is necessary in this parliament; it is even more necessary in different parts of the country where men whose minds may not be trained to restraint as are many members here, and also are driven almost to desperation and anguish of mind with respect to those they love and as to what may become of them, may utter many bitter things and express words the like of which they would never express save under the provocation of the hour. I hope that throughout this country our citizens will be as tolerant as they can of differences of view and belief that are honestly held."

C.C.F. Foreign Policy

WE print below the full statement of the National Council of the C.C.F., as read into Hansard in the House of Commons by the National Chairman, Mr. M. J. Coldwell, during the debate on the Address. Parts of it have been quoted in the press, but we believe our readers will like to have the full statement on which to base their judgment.

The C.C.F. declares that its duty and the duty of every Canadian is at all times to secure the unity and welfare of the Canadian people. In this crisis we place this loyalty first without being unmindful of our responsibilities as a democratic country in the present world.

The C.C.F. believes that the same struggle for trade supremacy and political domination which caused the last war, and was perpetuated in the Versailles Treaty, is again the primary cause of the present conflict.

We have repeatedly warned that once the principles of the League of Nations were abandoned and the governments of Europe reverted to power politics and secret diplomacy, anarchy and war would inevitably follow.

The Canadian people have had no voice in the foreign policies of the European governments which have brought us to the present tragic position. Owing to the failure of our government to clarify our constitutional relations, Canada has been committed to a war policy even before Parliament has had an opportunity to declare its will. The C.C.F. condemns the measures by which the Canadian Government has placed this country on a war footing.

Nevertheless, the C.C.F. recognizes that Canada is now implicated in a struggle which may involve the survival of democratic institutions. We consider that in the cause of the allied powers lies a hope of building European peace on a more secure foundation because, in part at least, the people of Britain and France are waging a war against aggression.

In view of these considerations, the C.C.F. believes that Canada's policy should be based first on the fundamental national interests of the Canadian people, as well as on their interest in the outcome of the war. Canada should be prepared to defend her own shores, but her assistance overseas should be limited to economic aid and must not include conscription of manpower or the sending of any expeditionary force.

In further detail the C.C.F. urges the following policy:—

(1) **Economic Assistance:** Canada is well fitted to make an important contribution through economic assistance. However, in the interests of Canada's economic future and for the protection of her people, the expansion of war industries must be strictly controlled. Moreover, such economic assistance should be conditional upon immediate steps being taken to place the burden upon the shoulders of those best able to bear it. The tax on higher incomes should be immediately increased and an excess profits and capital gains tax should be instituted, so as to avoid an immense addition to our national debt. The production and prices of essential commodities should be placed under strict supervision in order to eliminate war profits, and the manufacture of arms, munitions and war materials should be nationalized.

(2) **Defence of Canada:** Reasonable provision should be made for the defence of Canadian shores. Volunteers for home defence should not be required to sign also for overseas service. This practice, now being followed, is unwarranted and should be abandoned.

(3) **No Military Participation Overseas:** Any attempt to send a force abroad would rob us of the manpower necessary for the defence of our shores and for home production, would gravely endanger national unity, would threaten our civil liberties and democratic institutions, and would ultimately lead to conscription.

(4) **Preservation of Democracy at Home:** The C.C.F. protests against the encroachments on our civil liberties which the government has already introduced, and insists that democracy at home must be preserved unimpaired during the war.

America and the War

SINCE the outbreak of war in Europe we have seen the crystallisation of American opinion and the clarification of the administration's foreign policy. By the time this appears, Congress will have met and the United States stand on neutrality may be redefined. What the stand will be—barring some unforeseen happening—is now fairly clear.

Since the President's "moral intervention" during the Czech crisis of a year ago, there has been no secret about the sympathy of the United States government for the nations opposing Hitler. The activities and openly expressed opinions of American ambassadors in European capitals have reflected the prevailing attitude of Washington. The visit of the English King and Queen stressed the common heritage and the common cause of the two great English-speaking democracies. Now, as the conflict in Europe has passed from power diplomacy into actual war, the administration has shown no sign of weakening. Rather has it manifested a determined desire to amend existing neutrality legislation to benefit allied powers seeking American munitions and war supplies. The present act gives a margin of benefit to the axis powers who could secure American supplies through good offices of friendly "neutrals"; the fact that the British and French navies might display a non-cooperative attitude with such a scheme serves only to increase the administration's embarrassment over the act as it now stands.

American opinion has stoutly backed the President and the State Department in their foreign policy. Anti-Nazi feeling has grown steadily more violent. Until Munich, friendly feeling for England was increasing. The "betrayal" of Czechoslovakia brought sudden disillusionment, a deepened distrust of the Chamberlain government and a shrinking back from too close association with a power that bought peace from a dictator at such a price. This distrust had not disappeared at the outbreak of war and a second Munich

was considered likely. Nevertheless, public opinion is sufficiently vehement against the totalitarian states and sufficiently sympathetic towards England and France—Russia's defection has made this sympathy easier—to endorse the administration's moves.

The defeat of the neutrality amendment at the close of the last session of Congress was no fair test either of public opinion or of the opinion of Congress itself. It represented a political act of sabotage by a dominant reactionary Congress bloc determined to jettison any measure that had the administration's support. Present indications are that in both Houses the President will have a majority to carry the amendments. There will of course be determined opposition by the isolationist group at Washington and throughout the country. The Borah and the Lindbergh broadcasts called forth quick and widespread responses. But the administration has already stolen much of the isolationists' thunder. It has declared itself wholeheartedly for neutrality. The proposed cash-and-carry system of supplying munitions to belligerents would protect American bottoms from torpedoes and prevent the piling up of foreign credits that might later have to be protected by American entry into war. The present act permits trade with belligerents in supplies necessary for the prosecution of war; the discontinuance of such trade in keeping with strictest isolationist requirements would be a disastrous blow to the American economy. The beginning of a wave of war prosperity must be counted as an important factor in the decision of Congress.

In spite of pro-ally sympathy being much stronger now than in 1914, in spite of the likelihood of neutrality revision to benefit the allies, it is a mistake to think that the United States considers itself on the verge of war. Exactly the reverse is the case. If the Atlantic today is a narrow pond compared with 1914, if radio brings the terrific happenings in Europe to the very firesides of the American people, Americans are acutely aware of the dangers of this closer proximity. They are propaganda-conscious as never before. When the curtain of censorship dropped and the news from belligerent countries was relayed from inspired sources, listeners lost interest. There is a general refusal on the part of Americans to have their opinions manufactured abroad or to accept the axiom that "war is inevitable." A particularly tactless stroke of Nazi schrecklichkeit or interference with neutral rights—the ATHENIA was a bad blunder—or the threat of an overwhelming Hitler victory, would change the picture. Meanwhile, the Americans have little desire to shed their blood on Europe's battlefields.

Peace Aims

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

THIS war is already repeating the pattern of 1914 in the extremely vague and negative character of the statements of our leaders about their aims. We are in the war to stop Hitler and Hitlerism and to bring to an end the processes of the last few years in which settlements of international questions have been imposed by force or the threat of force. But of course, while our force may eliminate Hitler and his government, it will not of itself eliminate the social and economic conditions which produced Hitler, and of itself it determines nothing as to the organisation of Europe that is to follow the war. In fact we are no longer accurate, having once gone to war, in saying that we are in the war to prevent the imposition of settlements by force; we are really in the war to see that the settlement is determined by our force rather than by German force. And the vital question on which our statesmen should be giving us enlightenment is that of the purposes for which our force (presuming that it is successful) will be used at the end of the war.

The real issue of this war is whether some organisation of Europe can come out of it which will be tolerable to the peoples on both sides and which will enable them to settle down and live side by side in a reasonable degree of neighborliness. Moral declamations help hardly at all either in the analysis or in the solution of the complex and difficult questions raised by this issue of the proper organisation of Europe. Killing Germans—and it will be at actual Germans that the allied soldiers will be shooting, not at Hitlerism or any other ism—and breaking the will of the German people to resist our force, these acts bring us only to the threshold of the problem. What kind of a peace are we trying to bring about? What kind of a Europe do we want to see after the peace treaty?

Nothing is more depressing in Canada just now than the almost complete lack of interest shown by our newspapers in this question of our peace aims. We went into the last war on the blithe assumption that once the Kaiser and his military forces had been eliminated Europe would automatically settle down to a decent regime of peace. We cannot have such faith any longer. If we make the kind of peace that we made in 1919 and if this is followed by the kind of statesmanship that ruled Europe for the fifteen years after that, then we may as well make up our minds that Europe will settle down to breed another Hitler.

But it seems to be enough for most of our editors that we are following the British lead. At the end of the last war the one newspaper in Canada which showed an intelligent understanding of the problems of European organisation, of the general conclusions towards which British and American discussion was tending, and of the principles of the League of Nations which emerged from this Anglo-American discussion, was the Winnipeg Free Press. Today the slightly hysterical editorials in which it heils the "Peace Front", and its tendency to substitute such emotional slogans for the hard analysis of a difficult problem, make one suspect that it is uneasily aware that there is not much content to its "Peace Front". What real evidence can it produce that the statesmen of Britain and France believe in the kind of international organisation in Europe which it has been preaching since before the League was founded? What evidence can it produce that the government of Canada is organising our efforts in order to support that kind of international organisation?

The last settlement of Europe emerged out of a struggle between militarists and liberals in the governments of the victorious allied and associated powers. On the whole the militarists got their way. Old states were broken up, new states were created and new boundaries drawn, so that the defeated powers would never be able to challenge the settlement without being immediately exposed to invasion from all sides. Germany and Hungary were disarmed themselves and surrounded by a ring of hostile states directed by France and assisted by France to maintain strong armies against any revival of the military strength of the old central powers. Germany was deprived permanently or temporarily of areas which were of economic importance for military purposes, such as Upper Silesia and the Saar, areas in which, curiously enough, the war of 1939 started. The new states were given slices of territory from Germany or Hungary to ensure that they would be on the right side in future troubles. With characteristic militarist stupidity the old Austro-Hungarian empire, instead of being transformed into a federation of equal peoples, which might have been a bar to German advance down the Danube in case Germany should revive again, was broken up altogether. (Or perhaps it was the liberals who were stupid in this case.) The militarists declare now that the real fault of the last peace treaty

was that it did not crush Germany thoroughly enough; and there will be plenty of them at the next peace conference to demand that the job be done properly this time. But there will still be 80 million Germans in Europe at the end of the next war. As Bernard Shaw pointed out in 1914, the only way to crush Germany as our militarist fanatics want her crushed is to sterilise all German adults so that no more German babies will be born.

The liberals in 1918 believed that the solution of the European problem was to give separate national independence to each national racial group. They swallowed the partial dismemberment of Germany and Hungary forced on them by the militarists, but they managed to get a long list of new nation-states set up; and they came home rejoicing at this culmination of the work of nineteenth-century liberalism in emancipating "peoples rightly struggling to be free." Unfortunately, however, the racial groups east of the Rhine are so mixed up among one another that it is impossible to draw any boundaries which do not leave racial minorities embedded in every state. The new national states, based on the emancipation of races which had long been oppressed, proceeded in turn to oppress the minorities whom they had at their mercy. The liberal attempt to protect these minorities through the supervision of the League of Nations was a ghastly failure, because the League's operations were controlled by politicians of the successful states who were thinking mainly in terms of military power. And the net result was to create a Europe in which racial hatreds reached a pitch of intensity never before equalled.

Any future settlement of Europe which emphasizes boundaries either because of their strategic importance or because of their racial importance will only lead to another Europe like that of the 1920's and 1930's.

But even that Europe was beginning to settle down into tolerable conditions by about 1926. Racial animosities began to soften as the continent recovered from economic collapse. Germany entered the League and was restored to the family of nations. Sudeten Germans began to cooperate with the government of Czecho-Slovakia. It looked as if the continent might at last disarm and devote itself to the ways of peace. But the depression of the 1930's destroyed all these tentative advances, and a Europe which could not solve its economic problems drifted fast towards internal revolution in one state after another and towards international anarchy. The root problem at the end of the next war will be the economic organisation of Europe. Unless some form of an

economic United States of Europe can be put into operation, everything else that the statesmen of the peace conference may do will be futile. No one of the national states of Europe west of the U.S.S.R. is of sufficient size to be economically self-sufficient in any sense. Unless they can all be started together in some form of cooperation towards raising in common their standards of living, they will continue to cultivate their historic hatreds and eventually return again in desperation to the age-long European process of mass murder. One would feel much happier about this war if one could discern signs in either camp of the economic statesmanship which will be needed for the reorganisation of post-war Europe.

What is Canada's policy on these European questions? Mr. King, to his credit, has been somewhat more specific on the subject of the organisation of Europe than have the British or French prime ministers. "The peoples of the continent of Europe must find in some way, through federal relationships or economic partnerships or rebirth of democratic institutions and the spirit of liberty, the art of learning to live together." This is a sentence tucked away in his long speech of September 8. Let us hope that he will in due course give us more light on what he had in mind in these phrases. Let us hope that his next review of the action of his government will report not merely more details about "cooperation" with the British government in "defence", but the initiation of some discussion between the two governments towards the definition of their peace aims.

What is to be the constitution of the next League of Nations? The first League failed because the governments concerned had no real belief in the new order they were supposed to be building but treated the League simply as an instrument for furthering their own separate selfish purposes; and because the peoples, who were vitally concerned in a world order of international peace and cooperation, lacked the understanding to see in time the direction in which the policy of their governments was heading. Both the Canadian government and the Canadian people must bear some share of the responsibility of this failure. But there is no particular need for us to put on sackcloth and ashes. The success or failure of the Geneva experiment depended primarily on the lead given by the great powers. The chief criticism of Canadian policy at Geneva is that we followed throughout the lead given by one of the great powers and never explored what might be accomplished by closer cooperation with such small powers as the Scandinavian states who stood most consistently for a genuine application of League principles.

But the old League also suffered from certain inherent defects in its structure which must be removed in any new effort. It was too exclusively political in the scope of its operations. Its constitution and the policies of the powers who controlled it inhibited it from developing those schemes of international economic planning which were necessary if the world was to recover from the devastation wrought by the war and by the depression of the 1930's. At its worst the League tended to become a sort of permanent Congress of Vienna with all the delegates intriguing and jockeying for position. The best that most of its self-appointed defenders in Canada have been able to conceive for it was that it should become a sort of international war-office organising "sanctions" against "aggressors". Neither at its worst nor at its best was the League able to attract to itself the loyalty of the common people of the world which could only have been won if they saw it the centre of world efforts for solving their daily problems of poverty and insecurity. A new League must be based upon a much greater measure of pooling of economic resources among the nations who are its members than was acceptable to the leaders of 1919. And pooling in the devastated world of 194— will mean something much more far-reaching than the laissez-faire free trade of the nineteenth century.

But the root obstacle to this international collaboration in the production and distribution of wealth lies in the semi-monopolistic position of economic control which small groups in each country have established for themselves in their own national economy. Their interest lies, or seems to them to lie, in organising the economic resources of their nation, under their own leadership and primarily for their own profit, for a struggle against rival national economies similarly organised. They form the interests in each country who exalt national sovereignty, who use the instruments of education and propaganda to inflame the nationalistic passions of the masses, and who regard the foreign office and the armed forces of their country as existing primarily to push for markets and raw materials and spheres of influence abroad. We shall not get much real economic reconstruction as long as these groups control national governments. The old League was based upon the fallacy that this international economic struggle can be allowed to go on untouched and that the League need only step in when the struggle threatens to take the form of armed conflict. It will be a hard lesson for us all

to learn that we must give up the exclusive economic nationalism which has become rooted in our thinking and in our institutions. But unless a new League can become the centre of a great complex of international economic institutions, it will fail like the old one.

The old League suffered also in effectiveness because it attempted a world organisation in one undifferentiated centralised institution at Geneva. Science and politics have not yet abolished geography. We need more regional international organisations. Most of the controversies which filled Geneva were primarily concerned with European rivalries and hatreds in which the non-European countries were not directly interested. (And on many of these questions Canada's attitude inside the League was quite properly as aloof as the attitude of the United States outside the League.) The present war arises, in part at least, out of a problem which is older than Hitler, older than the Kaiser, the problem of the European balance of power. It is intolerable that non-European peoples should be asked to sacrifice men and materials every twenty-five years because the peoples of Europe cannot find a way of living together in decent neighborliness. Fundamentally the Europeans will have to learn this elementary lesson in living from their own experience. The necessary preliminary to any successful world organisation in the future is some sort of United States of Europe which the peoples of Europe will have to work out for themselves among themselves.

So far as we Canadians are concerned the essential test of a satisfactory Europe is demilitarisation. A Europe which is armed or arming is not necessarily one which is going to invade us, but it is one in which the Europeans are going to fight one another and are going to ask us to join in the fight. A disarmed Europe is one which is returning to the processes of peaceful production. But demilitarisation cannot be imposed on Europe, and certainly it cannot be brought about by merely disarming the unsuccessful combatants as was done in 1919. It will come about of itself in a Europe in which the conditions of life are generally tolerable. The statesmanship that will lead to these conditions will have to concern itself far more with economic problems than did the statesmanship of 1919. And Canada's contribution to the post-war settlement can probably be made far more usefully in forms of economic assistance and collaboration than in promises to employ "sanctions" against future "aggressors".

Economic Effects Of War

NOTES BY AN ECONOMIST

A WORLD war of major proportions was bound to influence the work of our Canadian economy in certain directions, whether Canada participated as a belligerent or even if she remained neutral. Will such a war accentuate or ameliorate our chief current economic problems?

Unemployment

The sharp rise in world demand for our major exports will tend generally to stimulate business and increase employment at a rapid rate to what will virtually be a boom level. This would be true whether Canada were a participant or a neutral in the war. As a participant the process will be rather more rapid. The demand for industrial labour power, in relation to supply, will be substantially greater now that we are in the war than it would be if we were neutral. Hence money wages will tend to rise more rapidly. An appreciable part of the labour force will be withdrawn from the industrial field, making the demands for the services of those remaining available for industry still more intense, and increasing the demand for the specialised goods of war. But as a participant we are almost certain to have more rapidly inflated prices, which means that the purchasing power of the increased money wages will be that much less.

The aftermath of war will be more serious in a country that has participated than in one that has remained neutral. For the boom will have been greater; and to the difficulties of transferring thousands from war industries to permanent peace industries will be added the difficulties of transferring thousands from army to industry.

Industrial Expansion

War means a large diversion of capital and labour to types of production far in excess of peace-time needs. This is true whether the country is belligerent or neutral, but the process is more pronounced in the first case. This has two effects. After the war we are loaded with capital equipment which is relatively useless, or useful only by expensive conversion. The effect in the field of labour is still more serious. Labour is diverted to the acquisition of skills which after the war will be redundant. This is especially true of the young people entering the labour market. The problem of transferring this labour from war industries to others is difficult, and we shall hardly be able to avoid a mass of "temporary" but prolonged unemployment.

Government policy should be directed to limiting mushroom wartime developments. Consistently with procuring adequate supplies, the government should adopt policies to prevent or discourage every Tom, Dick and Harry from rushing to set up war industries. This is easier in a neutral than in a belligerent country. As a belligerent our main purpose will tend to become that of securing maximum supply at almost any financial and social cost. A neutral community could direct expansion more or less wisely without having to meet emotional demands for materials at any cost.

Wheat

War will certainly increase wheat prices very greatly. But the wheat producer is likely to be better off in a neutral than in a belligerent country. For in the neutral country he is more likely to get the full world price himself; as citizen of a belligerent country he may have to take a controlled price as part of his contribution to winning the war. In the belligerent country also inflation is more likely than in a neutral country to raise the internal prices of what the wheat producer has to buy.

War is likely to stimulate increase of wheat acreage in all areas outside the theatres of war. This means a very difficult situation in the post-war era when the world once again finds itself equipped with more wheat-producing capacity than it can use. If the peace brings about a new order in Europe, i.e. a stable and demilitarised continent (and the last peace produced anything but this), the long-run outlook for Canadian wheat-producers may be improved.

Railway Problem

It is a question whether increased traffic will do more than balance the effects of fairly rigid rates as compared with rising costs. War may result in railway nationalisation on a basis profitable to the people as a whole. It will probably involve deterioration of road and equipment, necessitating heavy capital expenditures afterwards.

Employer-Employee Relations

War may result in the strengthening or the weakening of real collective bargaining; the probabilities are almost equally balanced. It will certainly mean, for the duration of the war and in the post-war slump, the rigid repression of "militant" unionism.

Public Finance

It is pretty clear that war is going to upset still

The Canadian Forum

further all our public finance. It means another generation of onerous taxation. Even if we tax as fully as possible, and even if we repudiate a large part of our debt by extreme inflation, the costs of the war in pensions, in reconstruction, etc., will bulk large in our budgets for years to come.

The largest possible part of the total costs should come from current revenue. Our public debt is now such that a further doubling or trebling of it must produce drastic inflation with all its injustices.

It should be noted that we have some lee-way in public finance. Our present "ordinary" expenditures will decline in relief, in wheat bonuses, and possibly in railway deficits. This will greatly ease provincial and municipal as well as federal finances, thus increasing taxable capacity as far as Ottawa is concerned.

If the war is prolonged, and if we are in it on an all-in basis, inflation will be inevitable. This will wipe out much of the middle class, destroy the value of life-insurance, annuities, etc. Debtors will reap rewards which even their past hardships have not earned.

With such results in front of us, efforts should be made to distribute the gains and losses of war as equitably as possible. Profiteering can be controlled by a mixture of income tax, excess profits tax, limitation of profits, fixed prices, control of industrial processes, government operation of industries, capital gains tax and (at the end of the war, to wipe out some of the war debt) capital levy. These devices can be used in different mixtures in different industries. But "equality of sacrifice" in wartime is political rhetoric, not economic reality.

The Second World War

J. GORDON NELLES

BY the time these words are in print the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse may be again riding Europe with unchecked fury. War, Famine, Pestilence and Death, which have so often withered that unhappy continent seem destined to return as the finale to another act in the perpetual drama of its conflicting national policies. It does seem strange that in spite of all that has been said and written in the last twenty years there should be anyone left in Europe so blind as to stake the realization of ambition on the aid of these Apocalyptic Horsemen. To solve human problems by destroying the human beings is a grim solution, but, as a pessimistic German philosopher once said, "If there is one thing a man learns from history, it is that man learns nothing from history!"

But Germany for some years now has dispensed with her philosophers, her independent writers, and all those capable of reminding the people of the lessons revealed in history based on documentary evidence as opposed to history based on the fanatical prejudices of a group of professional propagandists. From Thomas Mann to Remarque to Ludwig, all have been banished who were capable of puncturing the gaudy balloon with which Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry hypnotizes a bewildered people.

Controlling this experiment in mass hypnotism is a man whose mind has been revealed in all its deficiencies and fanaticisms in a book by his own hand. The tragedy is that with such a record by

which to judge the actions and demands of Adolph Hitler any European statesman should have been for a moment in doubt as to the wisdom of constantly conceding these demands in the hope of sooner or later appeasing their author. His appetite was bound to grow with eating and its "minimum requirements" were quite clearly set forth in "Mein Kampf."

But notwithstanding this, the British and French Governments permitted Hitler, aided and abetted by Mussolini, to establish by force of arms a regime after his own image in Spain. Even at the outset of that war the British and French navies were powerful enough to have prevented the landing of a single Italian soldier. By so doing they would have preserved an important country for the "democratic front" whose neutrality in spirit as well as in action would have been of great value in any future clash with the Fascist powers. Instead, however, a Fascist Spain has surrounded Gibraltar with a ring of German guns, has made the task of keeping communications open in the Mediterranean much more difficult, and has forced France to divert troops, which may be needed elsewhere, to the defence of a southern frontier which she was thankfully able to ignore during the last war.

In spite of all this, however, added to Mussolini's capture of Abyssinia and Germany's seizure of Austria, Premier Chamberlain in Great Britain was "unprepared" (vide "Mein Kampf"!) to find Hitler demanding parts of Czechoslovakia in "un-

reasonable" terms. Then, having conceded them, he was further surprised to find Hitler, later, having thoroughly disarmed the Czechs, march into the little republic with his troops and settle down to contented exploitation.

This finally convinced Chamberlain that what his critics had been telling him for years must really be the truth. Thus at a late hour, when a firm stand against aggression was bound to be much more costly to uphold, he dropped his own policy for that of his critics and gave guarantees of assistance to Poland, Roumania and Turkey. He then sought the friendship of Russia, after ignoring her offers to help on previous occasions. But spurned before, Russia now proved a difficult lady to woo. And it does not require any master-mind to see that Hitler would place much less store in a British guarantee to distant Poland if an Anglo-Russian understanding did not accompany it. We suspect, therefore, that Chamberlain should have made sure of a few Russian fire-reels before promising to save Poland from the German fire.

In case the thought should intrude here that this discussion of Britain's foreign policy is rather too unsentimental for these troublous times it is suggested that such a thought may proceed more from a colonial sense of unquestioning obedience to England than from that independent reflection on foreign affairs which is the right and duty of every democratic citizen in these Dominions—now ostensibly "equal in status" with Great Britain. Indeed, if a critical appraisal of British policy is found unpleasant by some Canadians one must refer them to the very penetrating criticisms of the same policy which are constantly to be found in leading newspapers and magazines in England itself. Certainly one could say that the British Government would give a great deal for a press in their own country which heaped uncritical praise on their every action in the grand tradition of the English newspapers in Montreal. But the game of being more English than the English is a hallowed one in Canada.

It was apparently this immaturity in Canadian opinion that prompted Lord Tweedsmuir to make his famous statement in Montreal in 1937, i.e., "The foreign policy of a democracy must be the cumulative views of individual citizens, and if these views are to be sound they must in turn be the consequence of a widely diffused knowledge. From this duty no country is exempt. Certainly not Canada. She is a sovereign nation and cannot take her attitude to the world docilely from Britain, or from the United States, or from anybody else. A Canadian's first loyalty is not to the British Commonwealth of Nations, but to Canada,

and to Canada's King, and those who deny this are doing, to my mind, a great disservice to the Commonwealth. If the Commonwealth, in a crisis, is to speak with one voice it will be only because the component parts have thought out for themselves their own special problems, and made their contribution to the discussion, so that a true common factor of policy can be reached. A sovereign people must, as part of its own sovereign duty, take up its own attitude to world problems."

An unfortunate consequence of this reluctance of many Canadians to make up their own minds on foreign affairs and of this proneness to fall back on the old imperialist point of view, is the tendency it engenders to place England's interests before those of Canada, and to exaggerate the real nature of Canada's foreign interests to a point where they become indistinguishable from those of a first-class European power such as Great Britain. That Canada might not have the same interest in Europe as Great Britain or that the foreign policy shaped to protect British interests might not always be in the best interests of Canada is never considered. For the Canadian imperialist's philosophy is largely a colonial one and as such naturally abhors the idea that the Dominion should have a foreign policy of her own instead of participating automatically in all the consequences of a British foreign policy over which she has no control.

To this school of thought the attainment of self-government in domestic affairs represents the last word in Dominion development. Complete self-government, involving all aspects of foreign as well as domestic affairs, and implied in the independent nationhood idea proclaimed in the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster of 1931, is frowned on as "disloyal". If Canada had the power in men and wealth of the United States she might play a decisive part in keeping the peace in Europe. But, in the present circumstances, as Premier King indicated in Parliament on March 30 last, it seems folly for her to take the best men from her own under-populated country to throw into the European cauldron every twenty years in the interests of that continent's unidealistic game of power politics.

A sincere system of collective security to keep the peace, possibly through a reformed League of Nations, should certainly have Canada's support. But, until the bigger powers establish such a system, the wisdom of Canadian military participation in every European war, especially if the United States does not do likewise, would seem to be seriously open to question. Certainly the smaller nations of Europe, whose vital interests are far more intimately affected than those of Canada,

3,000 miles away, do not appear to be getting ready to rush into the projected war but are making every preparation to protect their neutrality again as they did from 1914 to 1918. Thus, in spite of losses which these smaller countries are likely to sustain in a European conflict, they apparently proceed on the principle that it costs far less to stay out of a war than to go into one.

In Canada, the strong national feeling which has been growing up over the last twenty-five years is reflected in the Government's hesitation to commit itself in advance to military participation in every war in which Britain is engaged. Both South Africa and Ireland, which have developed a still more independent attitude, have already passed legislation through their Parliaments which they claim would enable them to remain neutral in a British war should they desire to do so. Their attitude, like that of Canada, is based on a desire to maintain their national unity first and foremost. Large sections of opinion in these Dominions are opposed to the idea of being automatically committed to fight whenever Britain declares war on the advice of her own ministers in the United Kingdom and as a result of her own foreign policy.

The strong nationalist feelings of the Dutch in South Africa and the French in Canada, added to those of many of English and other origins in both countries, make the idea of conscription to enforce participation in a foreign war a policy which might endanger the internal unity of these Dominions. Opposition to this idea, both passive and violent, arose in both Dominions during the Great War, and there has been much evidence in recent years to indicate that such a policy would be even more unpopular today. One view is that the wealth and man-power lost by a small country in a general war not directly threatening its existence is far out of proportion to the importance of its contribution in that war. Here, discretion is the better part of valour. Certainly, in view of the fact that more than half of Canada's national debt today is due to her last war effort, one hesitates to picture the future burden of taxation if she has to organize and maintain another army in Europe.

So far as the defence of Canada itself is concerned, this is well within her means. Authorities have pointed out that with the co-operation of the United States this continent can be rendered safe from any invasion. The Atlantic and Pacific coasts of Canada are particularly well adapted to repelling an invader by mining their many indentations and protecting their headlands with coastal batteries. It may be recalled that in the Great War the British Navy had complete command of

the sea but could not open the way for any invasion of the Belgian coast owing to the power of the German guns on land. If such defences, coupled with a small navy of destroyers and other light ships and an adequate air force to cope with spasmodic enemy raids, had been prepared in recent years, the Canadian people today would have a far greater sense of security, a fact which would have a definite reflection in their attitude toward world problems. Moreover, preparation for the defence of Canada itself is also a vital contribution to the defence of the Commonwealth.

But, having endeavoured to consider all these factors from a purely Canadian point of view, one is left with the knowledge that probably a majority of the English-speaking people of Canada have been so incensed at the methods by which Nazi Germany has attempted to right the admitted wrongs of the Versailles Treaty that Canada's direct interests in the question are likely to be submerged in a wave of sentimental feeling for the rendering of military aid to Britain and France in any struggle with the hated Hitler. One can only say that, in the interests of Canadian unity, apart from other considerations above mentioned, complete freedom of choice as to serving in Europe or in a defensive capacity in Canada should be left open to every Canadian. The two schools of thought indicated previously will never be reconciled by governmental forces.

But if the military aspect is to be handled with caution there will be little opposition to Canada giving full economic support to those opposing the dictators. Canada is legally committed, in any case, the moment Britain declares war. Neutrality is not possible for the Dominion with her present constitutional relationships with England. Moreover, there is no question as to her neutrality in thought concerning a war with the present German Government. However much distaste one may have for European power politics at any time, one cannot be blind to the fact that the chastening of Hitler would result in tremendous improvement in international relations generally and in the prosperity and happiness of the people of many weary countries.

Macabre Patriotique

Ah well!
Each soldier slain
Will fertilize the grain
That grows, to nourish once again
Soldiers!

—PAUL HALLEY.

Dialectical Contortionism

EX FELLOW TRAVELLER

ONCE there was a fellow-traveller who believed that Fascism was the great enemy of mankind. He believed, too, that the only way to combat Fascism was through the Popular Front, so ardently advocated by the Communist Party. He was never a member of the Party, for various good (and now better) reasons, but he felt much sympathy for the "great experiment" in Soviet Russia. He saw in it the possibilities of a better world. True, there were flaws in some of the means employed, but these, he felt, he could overlook for the sake of the end. He was impressed by its treatment of its minorities, by the hope it had given the youth of Russia, by its leadership in the fight against Fascism. Some of his best friends were Communists and so he became a fellow-traveller. He took an active interest in the League Against War and Fascism and kindred organizations. He defended the Soviet Union and the Communist Party against their detractors.

Then came the Fascist rising in Spain. He went to Spain because he believed it his duty to help defend Spanish democracy. There he found the Popular Front in action, with the Communists one of its most active elements. He spent nineteen long months in Spain. There he joined the PSUC, the united party of Socialists and Communists in Catalunya. He took an active part in its work. Came Munich, and the only consolation he could derive from that betrayal was the attitude of Russia, in its opposition to the Nazi encroachment on the freedom of a European democracy.

He left Spain at the end of January, 1939. The fall of Catalunya added 300,000 Spanish refugees to the crushing refugee burden already existing. Many of these were ardent Communists, including a substantial portion of the International Brigaders interned in France. What began to puzzle our fellow traveller was the unwillingness of the Soviet Union to accept refugees. He noted that the Communists in all democratic countries were clamouring that the gates be opened, but Russia, that was a different matter. The Party created an elaborate line of reasoning to justify the NON-admittance of refugees, none of which could stand up against the clear light of reason, he believed. But the Soviet attitude toward the refugee problem had obviously created great unrest among Party members on this continent.

Then came Earl Browder's astonishing statement in April in the *New Masses*. Since the refugee problem had become acute, stated the gen-

eral secretary of the American party, the Soviet Union had secretly admitted more refugees than all the democratic countries combined. Our fellow traveller refused to believe this. He considered it impossible that more than 100,000 refugees could enter Russia secretly. He considered very sadly that Comrade Browder was either misinformed, or (perish the thought) was deliberately uttering an untruth in order to allay the unrest in the party. At any rate, if true, Browder's statement proved that the whole line of reasoning for NON-admittance of refugees, so ably presented by Theodore Beyer in "*Soviet Russia Today*", was so much eye-wash. Our fellow traveller felt particularly bitter about the refugee question, because so many of his German, Italian and Polish comrades were rotting in French concentration camps, after two years of struggle against Fascism in Spain.

This was the beginning of the disillusionment. But something far worse was to come, something he had not thought possible even in his wildest dreams. After protracted negotiations with England and France, Stalin suddenly reversed himself and signed a pact with Hitler. The blow was numbing. It is true that the pact bore the innocuous label "Non-Aggression", but the timing was so staggering since it gave Hitler a psychological triumph at exactly the right moment. It secured his economic rear and left him free to launch his attack on Poland. These things our fellow-traveller saw clearly. What, he wondered, had happened to the theory of the Popular Front so ardently advocated by Moscow?

The first news of the Pact came as an equally terrific shock to the local comrades, but on the morrow they had regained their mental poise when Moscow communicated to them the new catechism of the new party line. Overnight the comrades were transformed from dialectical materialists to dialectical contortionists. They could once again smile in their annoying superior manner and say, "Wait and see". *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, which had all along been preaching a bitter campaign against Hitler, suddenly discovered that Hitler was a much maligned old friend. The Swastika flew through the streets of Moscow. Stalin and Von Ribbentrop, democrats both, were photographed together in the Kremlin. Our fellow-traveller recalled that in early July Earl Browder had stated that there was more chance that he would be elected president of the Amer-

ican Chamber of Commerce, than that Russia would sign a pact with Germany, Poor Master Lenin squirming in his mausoleum.

To those of his Communist friends who stated that, after all, Chamberlain was little less Fascist than Hitler, our fellow-traveller pointed out that he and his friends had all along insisted that there was a fundamental difference between the dictatorship of Hitler and that of Stalin. Surely there was a vast difference between the fascism of Germany and the supposed fascism of England. And hadn't England until yesterday been considered a democratic country? Many of the comrades argued that Stalin was playing a very devious game, and would be found ultimately on the side of the democracies. This absurd argument implied that they were so convinced of Stalin's fundamental honesty that he would do the right thing and double-cross Hitler in the end. This line of reasoning, our fellow-traveller saw, was an admission that the pact was indefensible. To the argument that the Pact weakened Hitler more than it helped him, he could only point out that it was not in Hitler's nature to observe any pact unless it was to his advantage to do so.

The only justification for Stalin's action was that it represented an exercise in power politics, and what, wondered our fellow-traveller, did Russia have to do with the game of power-politics? Had not the party line pointed the finger of scorn at the dirty bourgeois-fascist game of power-politics? He called to mind Lord Acton's maxim that "Power corrupts, and absolute power

corrupts absolutely", He asked himself, was this the explanation? He uneasily called to mind the bloody purges of the past few years, when so many former leaders of the Revolution had been purged, ostensibly for advocating closer relations with Germany. Perhaps, he began to wonder, they were purged for advocating precisely the opposite policy. And what about the "confessions"?

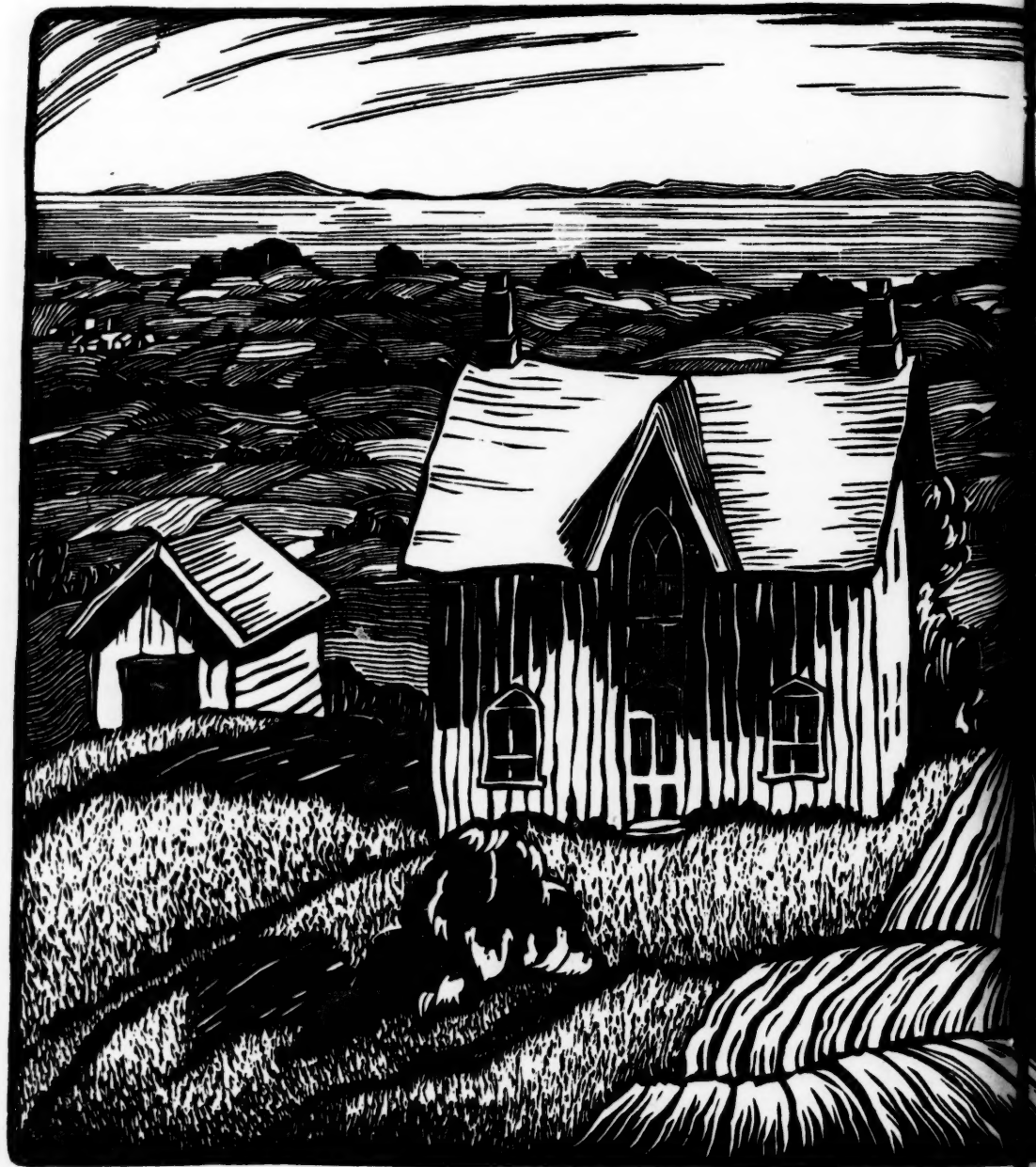
Our fellow-traveller had come to the parting of the ways. No longer could he make excuses for Soviet Russia. The hurt was too deep. He remembered how the comrades had chided him for bringing up the humanitarian argument when discussing the refugee problem. The pact showed him that the moral argument carried as little weight. He was shocked and sickened by the whole sad business, but the problem was much simpler now. The democracies were lined up in a life and death struggle with Fascism. He felt that he had a very definite stake in the democracies, and all those who gave comfort and aid to the enemy were enemies too. So he said farewell to his old friends. From then on they were on different sides of the fence. The glorious Spanish days were now only memories of the past, part of a vanished youth. He felt sorry for those decent Communists whose very souls were revolted by the utter callousness of Stalin's game of power politics, but whose minds were still fettered by the chains of "party discipline". The issues were clear, despite treachery, the struggle for freedom would go on. He was now free, he was no longer a fellow-traveller.

To Finance Padlock Appeals

C. P. WRIGHT

ON July 6, 1938—more than a year ago—in response to numerous petitions and to the arguments of counsel before him, the Minister of Justice announced his decision not to promote a reference to the Supreme Court of Canada upon an abstract question of the constitutional validity of the Quebec Padlock Act; and as his reason for this refusal he expressed the opinion that the validity of the statute could best be decided by the submission of a concrete case to the Courts. He may well be right in this. Certainly no Attorney-General of Canada has had more experience of abstract constitutional references than Mr. Lapointe has enjoyed. But certainly no Minister of Justice deserving of the designation should be content to leave the determination of serious constitutional issues to the unaided enterprise, expense, and risk of private litigants alone. In point of fact, in the earlier years of Confedera-

tion, before the procedure of the abstract reference had been brought into use, and when all constitutional issues were determined upon the basis of concrete cases alone, both the Dominion and Provincial Governments gave indirect support or assistance, in one way or another, in the prosecution of the final appeals upon several constitutional controversies of especial concern either to themselves or to some important section of the Canadian public; and in particular, on three occasions at least, the Dominion Government furnished full financial support to the prosecution of concrete actions on serious constitutional issues of the day. Mr. Lapointe's omission, to the present, to confront the constitutional challenge raised by the Padlock Act renders it opportune to recall the buried and fragmentary details of these episodes.



FROM THE UPPER ROAD

The first occasion on which Dominion aid was given in a constitutional controversy occurred in the testing of the Common Schools Act passed by the Legislature of New Brunswick in the session of 1871; and this is a precedent of peculiar pertinence in the present instance, since the political appeals that were then addressed to the Dominion Government and Parliament against the primar-

ily exclusive jurisdiction of the Legislature of New Brunswick in relation to education came largely from the province of Quebec. The previous law in New Brunswick, the Parish Schools Act of 1858 (which itself revised and consolidated earlier enactments), had contained several provisions for religious education of a non-controversial character and had also given permission



—Grace Fugler

for the use of the Douai version of the Bible, if so preferred, in schools. It further became customary, in schools maintained in predominantly Catholic districts, to make use of books of Catholic doctrine and to give instruction in the Catholic faith; and these practices were apparently never regarded as disqualifications for the receipt of provincial aid. This condition of affairs

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was changed by the Act of 1871, which made local assessments for education compulsory and which also, by a last-minute amendment, restricted all support from public moneys to non-sectarian schools alone. The Catholics of New Brunswick now raised strong protests that the new Act violated the guarantee contained in the British North America Act, that no provincial statute in relation to education should impair any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any minority enjoyed by law at the time of Confederation; and accordingly, with strong support from Quebec, they presented many petitions for its disallowance by the Governor-General. The best they could immediately achieve, however, was an undertaking, in the form of a resolution of the House of Commons, that the question of their rights and privileges with respect to education should be referred to the Law Officers of the Crown in England. This reference Sir John Macdonald handled in a very dilatory and clumsy fashion; not until April, 1873, was he able to communicate to Parliament the definitive opinion of the English Law Officers that the Catholics of New Brunswick did not have any rights and privileges pertaining to education within the scope of the guarantees of the British North America Act.

Meanwhile the Legislature of New Brunswick had found it necessary, in the session of 1873, to pass several amendments on matters of detail to the basic Act of 1871. Taking advantage of this renewed opportunity, Mr. Costigan, a Catholic member from a Catholic constituency of New Brunswick, proposed a motion in the House of Commons on May 14, 1873, praying that the Governor-General would be pleased to disallow these supplementary Acts. Sir John Macdonald strongly opposed this motion. Nevertheless it was carried by a vote of 98 to 63; and Sir John now found himself in the position—to most politicians highly embarrassing—of having to tender to the Governor-General the very advice which he had just before denounced to the House of Commons as gravely unconstitutional. In order to extricate himself from this predicament, he informed the House on May 19 that the Governor-General would apply to London for further instructions in the matter and that in the meantime the Government would ask Parliament for a grant to defray all expenses of any appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Accordingly on May 23 he sought and procured from the House of Commons a special vote for this purpose of a sum not exceeding \$5000. But for some reason or other no immediate appeal was taken, and this initial grant was not utilised. A new grant was accordingly proposed in the Supplementary Estimates

of 1874 (upon the authority, it was stated, of a resolution of the House of Commons) and was included in the Supply Act of that year. In anticipation of this financial support, a new appeal—the case of *Mahe v. The Town Council of Portland*—had already been laid before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It was argued there on July 17, 1874. And the Committee, without even calling upon the counsel for the respondents, immediately delivered its opinion that the rights and privileges claimed by the Catholics of New Brunswick were of an essentially accidental character and could not be deemed to lie within the compass of the guarantees of the British North America Act. And the final action of the Dominion Government in the matter is to be seen in the “Public Accounts of Canada” for the years 1873-74 and 1874-75, in which are recorded ‘Miscellaneous’ payments of \$3000 to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Sweeny (Roman Catholic Bishop of Saint John) and of \$2000 to the Hon. T. W. Anglin (a Roman Catholic member of the House of Commons). The purpose of the latter payment is not clear; and all that can be said about it is that it does not appear to have been a repayment to the Government of New Brunswick of its costs in the successful defence of the appeal.

A second instance of direct Dominion aid in the determination of a constitutional controversy occurred in 1879. The Canada Temperance Act, a Dominion-wide measure of local option, had been passed by Parliament in the session of 1878, had been adopted by poll in Fredericton in October, 1878, and had been put into effect there on May 1, 1879. In order to test its constitutional validity, a Fredericton hotel-keeper, John Grieves, sold liquor in contravention of the Act, was convicted and fined in the local police Court, and appealed against the conviction to the Supreme Court of New Brunswick. On August 12 this Court delivered its judgment, in response to this appeal, that the Canada Temperance Act was invalid. Immediately the temperance interests in the province addressed a request to the Dominion Government for financial assistance in the prosecution of a further appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. And in response to this request a Dominion Order in Council was passed on September 22—at a time when Parliament was not in session—stating it to be highly necessary, in the public interest, to obtain an authoritative decision upon the constitu-

tionality of the Act and undertaking that counsel would be retained by the Dominion Government to argue the case on either side.

On the assurance of this Order in Council, a new test action was begun. Another Fredericton hotel-keeper, Thomas Barker, in November, 1879, obtained an order from the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, directing the City Council to grant him a license for the retail sale of liquor; and the Council appealed against this order to the Supreme Court of Canada. The appeal was heard in February, 1880: the City Council of Fredericton was represented by the Deputy-Minister of Justice, Mr. Z. A. Lash, Q.C., and by another counsel, briefed by the Dominion Alliance; and Barker was represented by Mr. C. Robinson, Q.C., briefed by the Dominion Government, and by another counsel (who was presumably privately briefed). In April, 1880, the Supreme Court of Canada delivered a four to one decision in favour of the validity of the Act. And the “Public Accounts of Canada” close the case by recording the payment of fees of \$500 to Mr. Robinson and \$550 to Mr. Lash.

An appeal of the Barker case to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was already in progress when all further proceedings in the matter were terminated by Barker's death. The Fredericton liquor interests had now to begin the contest all over again. In January, 1881, a Fredericton hotel-keeper, Charles Russell, had been convicted, upon the information of a Fredericton policeman, John Woodward, on a charge of selling liquor in contravention of the Act; and this conviction was apparently now chosen, either before or after the event, as the basis of a new challenge to the Act. Russell first formally appealed against his conviction to the Supreme Court of New Brunswick; and this Court of course followed the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada and dismissed the appeal. Russell now carried a further appeal—as he was entitled to do—directly to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, citing as respondent the policeman Woodward. Woodward, who had laid the original information merely in the course of his regular duties, now declined—naturally enough—to appear before the Judicial Committee for the sole purpose of sustaining the validity of the Canada Temperance Act; and temperance interests throughout the Dominion were thus faced by the prospect that the Act would be declared invalid by the Judicial Committee for lack of any argument in its behalf. Accordingly, repeating the action in the Barker case, they addressed a request to the Dominion Government for financial aid in the defence. On August 19, 1881, the Dep-

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WILLIAM O'BRIEN, ESQ.

—Louis Muhlstock

uty-Minister of Justice returned the reply that the Dominion Government had decided not to interfere; and accordingly the Dominion Alliance promptly began the task of raising its own fund for the defence of the Act. Further reflection, however, seems to have suggested the expediency of a renewed and more personal approach to the Dominion Government; and early in October a small deputation went to Ottawa for this purpose. Although Sir John Macdonald's time was very fully occupied, he made special arrangements to receive the deputation and consider its representations. He expressed the opinion in reply that, since the policeman was only a provincial officer, the Dominion Government was not specifically concerned in the matter; and he also hesitated to give any assurances of financial support from Dominion funds, at a time when Parliament was not in session. Nevertheless, he promised to give the matter further consideration. And the consequence of this consideration was revealed in a Dominion Order in Council of October 26, 1881, which undertook to indemnify both appellant and respondent for any loss or expense in the prosecution of the appeal. In compliance with this undertaking, a vote of \$5,000 was included in the Supplementary Estimates for 1882 and was passed

in the Supply Act of that year. But even before the vote had been passed by the Commons, the Judicial Committee had heard the argument in the appeal; and in June, 1882, it delivered its opinion—the last word in the matter—that the Canada Temperance Act was valid as Dominion legislation. The actual costs of the appeal proved to be greater than the original vote had anticipated; and accordingly a new vote of \$8,500 (in substitution for the \$5,000 vote of the previous year) was approved in the Supply Act of 1883. The "Public Accounts of Canada" for 1882-83 record payments under this vote to a total of \$8,089; but they specify only the intermediary recipients of these payments and fail to disclose what the several counsel received.

To some readers of the Canadian Forum, these explorations of the background of certain early Canadian constitutional cases may appear most superfluously detailed. These details however, are here presented for the very definite purpose of furnishing precise proofs of the action that was taken by Sir John Macdonald for the settlement of some of the most serious constitutional issues of his day. With these precedents thus laid before him, will Mr. Mackenzie King take similar action upon the issue of the Padlock Act?

Noli Episcopari

(Letter to a young man contemplating an academic career)

WILLIAM HARDY ALEXANDER

DEAR Austin: I appreciate your expression of confidence in me implied not only in the reference to me of your present difficulties but also in your apparent belief that a person who has spent all his life in academic work can be expected to tell the truth about it. I shall try to justify that belief by being somewhat more frank than is customary in the craft, not through any desire to win compassion but from the ambition to guard your twenty-two years of inexperience against palpable errors and Dead-Sea-apple delusions.

If you have been one on whom the Muse of the Natural or the Applied Sciences had smiled in the hour of your nativity, I should find it relatively brief and easy to counsel you on your academic aspirations. The status of a professor of some branch of honest engineering is dignified in its nature and may actually be productive of some pecuniary profit, while it rarely involves serious moral or political responsibilities. As for Chemistry we have learned with satisfaction from impeccable Nazi sources that it involves no ques-

tions of Aryanism either in its theory or practice, which indicates that it is morally and politically colorless as a subject of instruction. Physics is probably in as happy a case, though its cavalier treatment of the "atom" which it is now, at great expense to harassed university administrations, breaking on the wheel, may conceivably bring it into conflict with fundamentalist exponents of the world's creation by fiat. That it is not seriously concerned with economic issues and their moral consequences I infer, perhaps too sweepingly, from the bland pronouncements of the great Milliken of Pasadena on behalf of the equitable operation of the capitalistic system in America. Biology is relatively safe so long as you concentrate your attention and that of your students on some of the minor marvels of the Creator's wisdom existing at the bottom of a muskeg, and avoid undue publicity about Homo Sapiens, especially, let us say, in the field of his own reproduction, an admittedly gross subject except to the numerically negligible pure in heart. Geology is rather more dangerous because of the

large number of ill-informed but wealthy and influential persons who still cling to the chronology of Archbishop Usher, whose four thousand and four years from the Creation to the Incarnation seem rather constrictive for the great processes of structural geology. Psychology, if I am right in calling it a science, is innocuous if you spend a virtuous academic life in chasing bewildered white mice around odd-shaped corrals as you investigate the profound problems of Free Will and Fate; not so safe if you discuss the way in which human white mice pass their sorry lives in corrals not of their own devising or desiring, where Free Will is a jest and Fate a synonym for Disaster, and all is vanity and vexation of spirit.

Then again there is the field of language, had you only elected to work in that. Nothing more blameless, nothing less likely to ensnare you in the web of academic reproach, can be conceived than the process of dissecting the imperfect subjunctive active of 'moneo' (the wiser ones keep away from 'amo'), or of explaining the evolution of the Romance future indicative tense. Unfortunately these tenses and others like them were occasionally used by persons of foreign extraction for the expression of ideas in what is called literature, and no university programmes in these alien tongues are considered complete without certain adventuring into literature. As these foreigners formed and cultivated in many cases a number of utterly subversive ideas on that wholly admirable economy and moral system under which we live, it is extremely difficult in handling such literature to prevent bright students from getting gleams of light and seeking for more. Great skill is required in forcing the class discussion back into the imperious futilities of syntax and rhetoric, but we are assured of the continued supply of that skill when we consider the titles of the doctoral theses yearly offered in the language group. It has been especially possible to display this skill of academic evasion since the near disappearance of Greek as a subject of knowledge; the investigative keenness of the Greeks and their ridiculous passion for following the argument whithersoever it led, are now mostly a matter of incredible tradition. The French, to be sure, have something of the same qualities, but the issue here may be happily avoided "*ad maiorem Dei gloriam*" by directing the students' attention towards novels and plays which may profitably be employed for the demonstration of the fallen state of Gallic morals, though meantime we rest hopefully for our own deliverance from Hitlerism on their national morale.

I begin to fear however that you are losing patience with me or suspecting that I am gently "spoofing" you; after all, you remind me, your
October, 1939

subject is Political Economy, and you are desirous of entering the Academic Profession (which I thus capitalize, not having at any time been able to capitalize it otherwise) by that avenue, and you have sought my advice on the soundness of that ambition. This seems to require discussion first on the basis of your own approach to the subject, and second on the academic status that the subject presently enjoys, because, unless these two can be reasonably reconciled, it is clear that you would only be entering on a life of frustration by attempting to become a professor of Political Economy.

I am fortunate in knowing your general attitude on Political Economy from frequent conversations with you and also from your very lucid letters to me on the same topic; it has been indeed gratifying to have you realize that a professor of the classical humanities might be more interested in the genuine problems of Political Economy than some of those who profess and call themselves economists. Economists indeed, as we have often agreed, are infinitely more given than classicists to being traditionalists, and with less profit to the race. Cicero and Virgil are positive mines of information for modern people, if you really know anything about them, much more so than such dull wags as Adam Smith, Ricardo and Marshall, merely to mention three from whom I have suffered cephalalgically myself. To you, I fear. Political Economy means a frank recognition of the economic ills of by far the greater portion of humanity, eighty percent. of whom, let us say conservatively, suffer from unnatural deficiency in respect of food, clothing, and shelter as these terms may reasonably and inclusively be interpreted in our time. It means also to you equally frank willingness to study the various solutions that have been propounded for the economic enigma, and a belief that your students, should you ever get any, ought to be fully advised by you of the nature of the several critiques that have been directed against the prevailing economy, more definitely advised than you ever were, and of the various plans to obtain economic readjustment. You have not hesitated to study the profound and, as the event has proved, prophetic works of Marx and Engels, and even to express yourself as believing that the progress of historical economic development has pretty thoroughly justified their critiques, even if you do not wholly accept their solutions. Your attitude in these matters is one that I thoroughly approve myself, namely, that truth is a progressive thing and not static, and with the enthusiasm of youth not yet disillusioned you suppose that the world really wants newer vistas in the search for truth and that it has a reception ready for those who can thus

serve it. It has, to be sure, but not the kind of reception that you have imagined, that you have allowed yourself to imagine despite your several courses in history which should have taught you better.

Now let us pass to the second point, the status presently enjoyed by your elect subject in our universities. And here I want to be quite objective; I shall remind you of what the status is, but shall also, in all fairness, try to show you why it must inevitably be so. Political economy then is recognized by all college administrators as always a potential danger spot in regard to which they must exercise the most vigilant and painful caution. Properly taught, it must concern itself with the manner of economic living within the Great Society, that is to say, the manner and the extent in and to which the "good life" is attained in our modern economic order, and by "good life" I mean what the Greeks meant by it and not the mawkish "life of goodness" so much propagandized in our day and among our people. Now of course any searching study of that topic must inevitably reveal under our capitalistic system a most painfully unbalanced distribution of the satisfactions and opportunities of life, to say nothing of the bare necessities. A searching study should, in a truthful atmosphere, result in an open statement of what has been ascertained and, possibly, in suggestions for amelioration. But that simply will not do. If the university involved through its instructor's study and report is a state university, that study and report, no matter what good faith lies behind it, is in effect a condemnation of the state as such, and that, of course, as even your inexperience must know, is invariably described as Bolshevism, "Red" propaganda, and subversive activities. If the institution is privately endowed, the situation is worse still, because an unflinching examination of the defeat sustained by the "good life" in modern capitalistic conditions is regarded as a personal criticism of the benevolent persons who have established the academic foundation; it is therefore regarded by the administration as the basest ingratitude, though to be sure, theoretically their first service should be to the truth and all attempts to discover it, and not to the benefactors. But we are talking of a real world.

Your young mind will perhaps wish to know what satisfaction men can take in teaching a political economy which notoriously blinks the facts, or in administering institutions where open and frank discussion is not the first and highest desideratum. Remember in the first place that, so far as the teachers of political economy are concerned, practically all of them are quite, or at least

sufficiently, satisfied with the status quo; reflect how infinitely little, on your own admissions, you ever heard in your own college during your undergraduate course just ended about such world forces as Socialism and Communism, and how quickly your questions along those lines were suppressed. Remember again that the present leading exponents of your subject learned the version of it they now teach from instructors who formed their views of economic doctrine in the days when capitalism was still working with apparent success along the lines of the smug Adam Smithian formulas, and that there is nothing quite so traditional as education, especially in the field of the social and economic sciences, and more particularly at the college or university level. As for the administrators, let us seek to be just. They have assumed the task of managing the business of a particular university, or a particular college or faculty, and the very fact of their having assumed the task creates in them naturally the desire to fulfil its duties, arduous enough in all conscience, with the minimum of friction, especially of friction with legislatures or benevolent millionaires. I must confess that they are rarely as careful to avoid friction with members of their staff, but obviously, and I think you must be able to see this for yourself, professors, who can as a matter of fact be picked up quite cheaply in the educational market any day, present less of a problem than legislators armed with a popular license to bait intelligence or financial benefactors, interested occasionally in practical science as a potential source of further personal profits but very rarely indeed in scientific truth, and never in any form of investigation or research which touches adversely their own special privileges. To administrators the physical elements of the institutions over which they preside have a tendency to become the important thing; yet obviously the physical elements should be merely shells to enclose the spirit of research within. Here is the position briefly. Your university has acquired a million dollar building; let us be wise and not ask how. It will cost a hundred thousand a year to keep it up with due allowance for depreciation, probably two hundred thousand to pay the people who teach in it, and an attitude like yours, Austin, will bring in neither the hundred thousand nor the two hundred thousand, nor, to be quite frank, the million. I firmly believe that university heads do, especially in their earlier years of office, occasionally contemplate wistfully the idea of perfect freedom in research and expression, but they cannot continue to do that and survive in the academic hierarchy; it is boards of governors or regents who make or unmake presidents and prin-

cipals, not the corps of professors. You must never forget that our universities are themselves products of the capitalist system, just like our churches, and it is really perhaps asking too much that churches should provide pulpits and universities lecture-rooms from which or within which their own shortcomings and pitiful surrenders and unholy compromises can be revealed. After all, the universities of Communism and Fascism permit no criticism within their halls of the basic order of their societies, nor would Capitalism do so either in any degree whatsoever had it not got involved, unhappily for itself, in the semi-freedom of the political democracy into which by chance it was born.

Such being my knowledge of yourself and such my conception of the highly restricted field of academic endeavor, and particularly in your department, I cannot conscientiously recommend you to persist in your academic ambitions, and the conversations you have recently had with your dean strongly support, you must admit, my point of view. You can do your country great service, and I am sure you will, but not in a university, having regard to your particular field. If there ever was such a thing as academic freedom, and personally I do not think there ever was in things deemed by the ruling powers to be essential to the preservation of their power, it is suffering a cruel and a rapid contraction in these days, and the end is not yet. We affect to shudder at the fate of the German universities without quite realizing the tendency of our own to move towards the goal of the same silence on "essentials" accompanied by loud mouthings about inconsequentialities. In the jaws of that contraction a person of your honest and honorable attachment to freedom of thought and expression will be caught, and while you will not escape those shark's teeth anywhere in this twilight of our brief democratic day, you will be exposed to more humiliation as they close upon you in an academic situation, because our people as a whole and fundamentally have little use for universities except as purveyors to their material comfort, and none at all for academic heretics. Should you enter the academic life, you would soon find yourself fastened down with bonds of steel; the bonds would be in appearance very slight but their quality would prove very tough; the needs of wife and children, the so-called amenities of academic relationships with other instructors, the very kindnesses shown you by the administration when you were ill, these and many things like them would presently break you to the conformity of the academic treadmill. The case is somewhat different when you have as your subject great literatures

into which to retire, a kingdom of the spirit where you associate with the "maestri di tutti che sanno," but the literature of political economy, especially orthodox political economy, could hardly, unless my sense of values is utterly perverted, prove a very sheltering refuge for the spirit in time of storm.

I have written at such length on the subject because your first business is to decide promptly what not to do, how not to become ensnared. Do not now expect me to take time to suggest positively what you should undertake, but meantime do not be afraid, remembering that Fate keeps her chains for binding those that fear. "Noli episcopari"; don't accept the fellowship in political economy. Your instinct is to strike a blow for the economic freedom of your fellows, as blows were once struck for political freedom, which, without economic freedom, has proved historically a poor enough thing indeed. Well, remember this; such blows will never be struck in our time from inside universities. In the very nature of things as they are, they are too respectable either to fight or to tolerate within themselves a fighter.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor, The Canadian Forum,
Toronto, Ont.

The article in the August issue of "The Canadian Forum" by Professor Alexander entitled "Counting America In" seems to call for an answer by all lovers of liberty and democratic progress. This pointed out that in another World War the democracies could count on no assistance from the United States which has been thoroughly disillusioned at the sacrifice by Britain and France of Czecho-Slovakia and Republican Spain. The burden of this argument is that the United States, in its purity of motives, should keep clear and let Europe go to the devil if necessary.

There is one very obvious answer to this inference of Professor Alexander. Who first torpedoed the League of Nations, that grand conception of their own President Wilson, by refusing to join it? What did the United States do to help Republican Spain except cut off all supplies just as Britain did? And who but the United States has supplied Japan with almost all its material for blasting the poor defenceless Chinese to bits? One could go on enumerating some of the sins of United States democracy from Mooney to Bridges, from Jersey City to Louisiana and from 1776 to date. But what purpose does it serve? No country has real democracy as long as "high finance" in the long run controls the power, and profit is the only motive of our economic life.

It seems to be a fatal fault of liberals that they will stress the non-essential differences in viewpoint rather than concentrate on the major objectives which all have in view. These two major points of agreement are:

1. Resistance to aggression and the use of war in settling disputes.
2. The necessity of a change in our political set-up which will allow the marvelous technological progress that has been made to function so that all classes can have security and a minimum standard of material and cultural welfare.

All that Professor Alexander hurls at the British govern-

ing class may be perfectly correct. But here is the all-important point. The British people can, at any moment that they will read something outside their own press, really get down to facts and learn the underlying forces making for war and exploitation, kick their present ruling class down the stairs by the use of their vote. And that is a priceless gift worth fighting for. On the other hand whatever the German, the Italian, the Spanish and some other peoples may learn in spite of their Propaganda Bureaux and their secret political police, they are powerless to do anything about it.

Surely enough has been learned about German and Italian aggression to see that the first necessity is to stop it somewhere before they get the whole world under the domination of the rule of force, with complete suppression of all those things guaranteed to the citizen in the "Bill of Rights". Surely if we can read we know by now that continued German expansion means complete loss of individual freedom. If one is prepared to walk the strict party line laid down by the authorities in the totalitarian states life may be pleasant enough. But to everyone with the love of freedom in his being, to everyone who has a vision of the paradise that the world might be under a new social system, it is worse than death.

Will the liberal elements in non-totalitarian states not get together to preserve democracy before it is too late, instead of emphasizing differences in non-essential matters? The Popular Front, the Peoples Front or whatever you choose to call it, is a vital necessity in both foreign and domestic affairs. Otherwise aggressors will be pinching off this country and then that in the foreign field while reactionary elements in the domestic sphere are chopping off our liberties one by one. Let us emphasize our points of agreement and forget our points of disagreement. It is time enough to bring up the latter after we turn out the reactionary elements.

"United we stand, divided we fall" may be a trite saying but it seems to be a very necessary slogan for liberalism today. Real democracy can only come by the ability to organize for better conditions. And for this purpose there must be free association, free speech, free press and all the other rights that our ancestors fought for. Nazism and Fascism are the very negation of these principles and liberals everywhere should work with might and main and, if necessary, fight to the death to defeat them. The heart of the British and French people, whatever may have been the sins of their rulers, is sound and it will be a sorry day for liberty if they should be defeated in a war with the Totalitarian states.

Let liberals prepare the stage for the new order of things before scrapping among themselves and weakening themselves for the struggle that lies ahead by internal dissension. Whether one is a Conservative, Liberal, Laborite, Communist, Social Creditor, New Democrat, C.C.F.'er, Oxford Group or any other form of liberal, we should all be banded together to beat Fascism at all costs and to secure a change in the social system that now breeds war, unemployment and all the other ills of the Capitalistic set-up. And Professor Alexander or anyone else does a disservice to the cause in indulging in mere mud-slinging at this critical stage for democracy.

Yours very truly,

Vancouver, B.C., Sept. 5th.

H. KEMP.

O CANADA!

(A prize of \$1.00, or a six months' subscription to The Canadian Forum, is given for the first cutting in this column. Original cuttings should be sent, with name and date of paper.)

Another rush to buy "War Babies" on the stock market

came to-day, when Wall Street construed the Hitler speech as indicating continuing of the European conflict.

A momentary "peace scare" brought prices down from early highs just before the Hitler speech.

(New York despatch in The Evening Telegram, September 19th)

"Officials of a service club here made an appeal for towels for a camp for under-privileged children. The response was gratifying until officials examined the towels and found the names of hotels, railways, and steamship lines on the towels. President W. A. Richardson named a committee to investigate the matter and remove the tell-tale stitching".

(Canadian Press report from Peterborough, Ontario, dated July 24th)

"... it is rather humorous to see Lord Baldwin visiting Canada and the United States prattling about the preservation of democracy, when it was due to the smug complacency of him and his predecessor that democracy has become so impaired. Such advocacy by Lord Baldwin is on a parallel with a baldheaded barber recommending a hair tonic."

(From a "Special Cable" from London, from Mr. George C. McCullagh, published on the front pages of The Gazette, Montreal, and The Globe and Mail, Toronto, on August 23rd)

"Miss Gregoire, principal of Sainte-Martha school in Montreal, expressed the opinion that the womenfolk of Canada leave politics both internal and international up to the men."

(From The Japan Times Weekly, Tokyo, for July 20th)

(The prize this month is awarded to Mrs. B. W. Robinson, 4835 Wilson Ave., Montreal).

STOP THE PRESS!

THE REVOLUTION OF NIHILISM

By Hermann Rauschning

This is the book of which Ralph Thompson said, in The New York Times: "It overshadows almost any other book in print". A startling answer to the enigma of Nazi Germany, written by the former Nazi President of Danzig. Only now available in an English translation. \$3.50.

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BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Philip Grove

TWO GENERATIONS: Frederick Philip Grove; Ryerson Press; pp. 261; \$2.50.

WHEN reviewers say, as many have said, that this is Frederick Philip Grove's best novel, do they mean that this is his best book outright or do they distinguish between his novels proper and his more personal volumes? My feeling about him all along has been that he is strongest where he is most autobiographical and that his personal record in "A Search for America" and "Over Prairie Trails" has a force, an intensity which has little to gain from any admixture of fiction. His novels, again, always seemed best to me in those episodes and characters that were nearest to his own struggles and to his own temperament. As with many other novelists, though not with all, autobiography appeared to be the right approach to an understanding and judging of his work.

"Two Generations" compels one to re-consider this opinion. Its sub-title describes it as "a story of present-day Ontario" and we know that Grove has only comparatively recently lived in that part of Canada, his middle years having been chiefly spent in the West. Clearly then the story comes out of his foreground rather than his background. And there is everything in the narrative itself to show that while drawing, as it must, on the author's experience and especially on his farmer's knowledge, it does not reach very deep into his personal life, as do the two books above-mentioned, but is primarily a novel in the stricter sense that it deals with invented characters and situations not rooted in the private life of the author. At least I would hazard the statement that "Two Generations" is less autobiography and more novel than any of Grove's previous books.

It is a study of family life in one of the more settled and prosperous parts of rural Ontario. There is an echo of pioneering days in the character of Ralph Patterson, the father, but even he goes into the city dairy business, though not with profit to himself. Of his children one marries a professional dancer and gets involved in the naughty world; another urbanises himself to the extent of turning florist and painting his delivery vans mauve with yellow lettering; two others put themselves through a higher education in Toronto and bring modern philosophy back with them to the farm. All of which is stubbornly resisted by the unprogressive and tyrannical but not wholly unattractive father, whose spiritual defeat it is the tale's chief business to record. One by one his grown-up children shake off his invisible grip and act for themselves—the mother always understanding, the father never. The issue is sharpest with the third son, Phil, after which there comes a reconciliation and a change of heart. But whether Tom and Mary, who have yet to break away, go through the same crisis is left uncertain. The book makes each of its characters so clearly separate and alive that one can't help wondering what these two younger ones are like. Anyway, I am suspicious of "changes of heart."

Here then, as I have tried to indicate, is a really authentic short novel about the Ontario we know—it dates strictly speaking in the late nineteen-twenties—epitomizing the semi-urban, semi-rural life which give the last ten or twenty years in this province their peculiar transitional character. How many households, reading these pages, will be compelled to exclaim—not necessarily at every point, but certainly at many—"This is us, exactly." The pressure of this thought will ensure that the book will go from hand to hand and be widely read—more widely, I suspect, than any of Grove's

earlier books. If young Canadians read it, it will do something towards correcting their sense of literature where it most needs correcting. I refer to that devastating sense of literature as something divorced from life—the "literary" sense of literature—which has done and is still doing much harm in our schools. Perhaps there is no Canadian book that could do more to obliterate that fatal notion. The best thing about "Two Generations" is precisely this—that it is not literary at all in the horrible Ontario sense of the word, but that it is, both in style and in conception, the real, the honest thing, unfalsified and even ungraced.

One more point. If we compare this book with any earlier book by the same author we notice a change. For one thing, it is lighter in handling than the earlier Grove books, further from the tragic and nearer to high comedy in the good old sense of the word. It has a greater speed and vivacity of action and dialogue. It is in every way a more modern book than its predecessors. This is peculiarly gratifying, because Grove is now in his upper sixties and can only have written this book in quite recent years. Remembering, as we must—however regretfully—that the history of Canadian literature—and of Canadian painting too—is full of names of those who never did anything new after the age of forty, we may conclude by paying Grove the compliment of saying that in his latest book he has shown his juniors in the country that he is younger than most of them and that premature senility is not a necessary condition for authorship.

—BARKER FAIRLEY.

Catullus

THE LYRIC GENIUS OF CATULLUS: E. A. Havelock; Blackwell, Oxford; pp. 198; 8/6.

THIS study of Catullus consists of two distinct parts: in the first Mr. Havelock prints twenty-six of the poet's best known pieces, and alongside each a poetic imitation of his own; in the second he investigates the proper canons of Catullan criticism, which he then applies to an analysis of the Catullan temper, concluding with essays on the neoteric school and the relation between Catullus and Horace.

The book is to be welcomed as one of the best aids to our understanding of Roman literature that has appeared in many years. I feel however that Mr. Havelock has done him-

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self less than justice: each of the two parts, if the first were somewhat expanded, would justify separate publication; but as the book stands the first is not adequately related to the second. I recall, with some unfairness I admit, what Aristotle said about history and Alcibiades. But to be more precise: a selection of poems which omits the "Acmen Septimius", the "Ode to Diana", the "Alfenus" and quite a dozen more characteristic pieces is not sufficiently representative and will leave any reader who does not know his Catullus inadequately prepared for the later study of the Catullan temper. And this omission is the more regrettable since Mr. Havelock insists, rightly as I believe, that it is the poet's soul, rather than his circumstances, which furnishes the basis for valid criticism. I think, moreover, that the limitations of the selection have in some degree limited the range of the author's own study of the Catullan temper. Of that temper, for example, a tendency to obscenity and obscene vituperation was a very real feature; the number of poems that are wholly or partly of this kind nearly equals that of the poems about Lesbia—themselves in a few cases bearing the same mark. I doubt if Mr. Havelock has thrown this trait into sufficiently high relief. The obscenities alone would scarcely deserve this comment; and this not rare feature of classical literature is in any case partly redeemed by the capacity to be salacious without being sheepish. But its frequent union with bitter invective reveals a coarseness of soul far more essential than could be inferred from mere salacity of language. It was in this defect, and in this almost alone, that Catullus fell far short of being truly civilized; and its significance, thanks to our natural preoccupation with the poems which it has marred least, tends to be underrated or ignored.

But enough of possible defects, which in any case are far from serious. The thing most important to say is that the book has very striking merits. Mr. Havelock's imitations show him not only to be a poet in his own right, but also to have a high power of sympathetic mind-reading. They are uniformly of a high standard; nearly all are perfect gems.

Still more notable, however, is the contribution to criticism which is offered in Part II. I do think that Mr. Havelock's greater interest in the finer side of Catullus' nature and work has biased his view on such points as the "un-Romanness" of his author and the proper connotation of the words "lyric" and "romantic". But this, even if true, does not alter the fact that we have here criticism at once penetrating, original, and what for want of a better word I will call human. It is also more comprehensive in its scope than the author's modesty allows him to admit. It would be as unfair as it is tempting to expose some of Mr. Havelock's judgments. I will simply mention some of the topics upon which his remarks are as important as they are bound to be interesting to any student of poetry: the use of "literary allusions", the office of the translator, the Roman criteria of good poetry and the place of Catullus' school in the history of their literature. These are only a few; but the treatment they receive would make this book valuable were there in it nothing else. The book should be bought, not borrowed; you will read it several times and still not exhaust its inspiration.

—R. E. K. PEMBERTON.

A Practical Study

GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNED: R. H. S. Crossman; Christophers; pp. x, 306; 7/6.

ANY one who read Mr. Crossman's "Plato Today" would immediately welcome the appearance of his latest work, which, as the sub-title states, is a history of political ideas and practice from the Renaissance to the present. His earlier volume was an able and scholarly exposition of Plato's polit-

ical thought. It also showed clearly that Mr. Crossman's interest in political theory is not merely academic. This he has demonstrated not only in his books and frequent articles in current periodicals. While still Fellow of New College, Oxford, he served as Town Councillor, and recently he resigned his fellowship to become a parliamentary candidate. One feels that this practical interest in the problems of government is what gives vitality and animation to his survey of the course of political thought since the Renaissance and saves it from being a text-book réchauffé. Dealing with such a vast field, in three hundred pages, he can do no more than survey it in broad outline. But he brings out clearly the essential features, and never writes mere lifeless abstracts of systems of thought. He gives a sense of actuality by placing his philosophers in their historical setting, by showing how their views developed in response to concrete social, political, and economic conditions. These changing conditions, Mr. Crossman insists, are the determinants of political ideas. Hence the futility of claiming finality for them, or of studying them in the abstract. Moreover he warns us at the outset that "political ideas are not nice little packets of logic" and distinguishes the study of the great political theorists from that of political ideas derived from them, which become current and influential, but in which the theories are simplified or modified, sometimes beyond recognition, as during the course of the French and Russian revolutions. Mr. Crossman with great skill keeps these two aspects of political thought distinct and in relation, from the emergence of the nation state from the medieval order to our own day, when the anachronism of the nation state—at any rate in the form perpetuated at and since Versailles—is being demonstrated with such appalling attendant tragedy. His last chapter, on the Fascist revolutions, contains an illuminating comparison of the movements and of their leaders. He recog-

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nizes that the basic reason for the origin and continuance of both Fascism and Communism is that ordinary men and women care more for security and peace than they do for political principles, and will therefore allow a system of liberty to disappear under which security is not guaranteed, and will acquiesce in the "monstrous Leviathan" of the totalitarian state. But he also fixes squarely the responsibility for the peril which faces us. "Since the Western democracies had failed so lamentably to organize the world for peace, the Fascists have been able without much difficulty to organize it for war. Since France and England were determined to retain the sovereignty of the nation state, Fascism has mobilized the nation against the League powers". The lines on which a solution will have to be sought are, according to Mr. Crossman, clear. "The epoch of National Liberalism is over. Economics and politics alike demand both co-ordinated public control of industry and finance and a larger unit than the nation state." The all important question which is forcing itself on us is: Will these larger units be formed by democratic co-operation or by fascist aggression, and will the end of the centralized planning be imperial expansion or the good life for the individual citizen?

—M. D. C. TAIT.

Modern Miracles

A BOOK OF MIRACLES: Ben Hecht; (Macmillan); pp. 465; \$3.00.

BEN Hecht, newspaperman, novelist, and collaborator with Charles McArthur on plays and movie scenarios, has given us a book of modern miracles. When a showman like Mr. Hecht adopts theology for a backdrop the previews at Grauman's Chinese Theatre can look to their laurels. These are lights reach right up into Heaven and illuminate God, the archangels and all the glorious company. Merely writing about angels no doubt comes easy to him after his association with Samuel Goldwyn in Hollywood (a plug for Wuthering Heights is indicated here). His vision of Heaven in "The Missing Idol" would make the author of Revelations blush for his incompetence, but after all, the pearly gates were conceived before the days of Klieg lights and sound stages. In these stories showmanship takes precedence over theology, just as Heavenly figures are first characters and then philosophic concepts, with medieval touches for variety. Although traditional ecclesiastical patterns are followed to some extent, Mr. Hecht the raconteur does not hesitate to tamper with any theory or concept, religious or scientific, that can be moulded to fit the pattern of his irony.

These flights of fancy are recounted in somewhat the manner of Anatole France: the same matter of fact style is employed, a manner which seems to assume that such events are routine and completely credible. Ill at ease with the world, Hecht employs wit, satire and other devices of bitter moralists to express his discomfort. All this because the reformer in him is strong: he has a profound conviction that a better world is possible, that man is a thinking animal. But his pity for man often leads Mr. Hecht into sentimentality and prevents concise delineation of the monstrosities and contradictions which he observes. Then he rambles as France never did, dallying with excuses for the pettiness of men and ruminating on the vain-glory of their gods.

Of the seven stories, several could have been developed into complete novels. "The Adventures of Professor Emmett", and "Remember Thy Creator" are too long and unwieldy for novelettes, in each case plot and characterization demand fuller treatment. Gifford Emmett, a scientist exasperated with the imperfections of modern society, longed for a world with the precise organization of an ant colony. He dies, to find that his soul inhabits the body of a male in a

colony of termites. His subsequent experiences bring about the desired change of heart: he is convinced that termites are about to destroy civilization and embarks on an expedition to inform the Chief Executive of this. This pointed tale throws a bright light on the problems of the thinker in modern society. It gives Hecht every opportunity to present his point of view concerning efficiency as practised in more mechanized groups, to back his allegory with humour and to open the doors of the ivory tower, not to admit the invading hordes, but to tempt the occupant outside.

Mr. Hecht is concerned with saving civilization. He is willing to use all the tricks of his craft in an effort to be persuasive; to exploit religion and other sustaining beliefs to reinforce his technique. The result is good writing with plenty of meat in it. Witty, sentimental, theatrical, tender, he punctuates buffoonery with mysticism and faith with despair that often reaches heroic proportions. But the faith remains, insistent on the majesty of man and preaching tolerance through the words of a people crushed by man's intolerance and by fear of oppression.

—PATRICIA PALMER.

How the Danes Do It

DENMARK, A SOCIAL LABORATORY: Peter Manniche; Oxford University Press; pp. 216; \$1.50.

AS the Principal of the International People's College at Elsinore, with frequent contacts with visitors and students from all over the world, Peter Manniche is in a unique position to appreciate the viewpoint of the North American and British student of Danish social questions. Moreover, we are told that his book was written "with the cooperation of American and English students of the College who in company with the author visited farms, cooperatives, folk high schools and the social institutions described."

Commencing with a description of the development of Danish agriculture to its present forms, Mr. Manniche proceeds to an account of all the various branches of farm co-operation for which Denmark is justly famous. He tells how the agricultural worker may set up as a small holder with a loan from a cooperative credit society; how he may electrify his farm through cooperatives and market his eggs, milk and bacon through cooperative dairies, bacon factories and export societies; how he may buy all his household requirements, as well as seed, feeding stuffs and fertilizers, at

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the cooperative store in the village; may place his savings in a cooperative savings bank; insure himself against sickness in a cooperative insurance society; and when he dies may even be buried by cooperation!

There follows a chapter on the folk high schools with their ramifications in other countries, and,—not the least interesting part of the book, since these subjects have been singularly neglected by writers of books on Denmark—chapters on municipal enterprise and social legislation.

Taking the town of Elsinore with its Social-Democratic mayor as a typical Danish provincial town, Mr. Manniche traces the work of the municipality in all its various aspects: housing, hospital service and provision for the aged. An interesting account is given of the activities of worker (trade union) cooperatives—bakeries, breweries, milk supply societies and printing works—and of the form of housing society peculiar to Scandinavia, the workers' cooperatives with the tenants cooperatively owning the blocks in which they live. There is a description of the social services as embodied in the comprehensive piece of legislation known as the Social Reform Act, which was passed by the present Social-Democratic-Radical Government in 1933 and covers every phase of the social services. Details are given of sickness and accident insurance, old-age pensions, unemployment regulations, standards of living and taxation. The last chapter is a description of a typical Danish village.

The book includes 150 photographs illustrating life and conditions in Denmark and these alone should ensure it a place in the bag of every Canadian visitor to Scandinavia. Professor H. J. Fleure of the University of Manchester provides the preface.

—REG. SPINK.

French Traditions

REASONS FOR FRANCE: John Brangwyn; Nelson (Bodley Head); pp. 341; \$3.75.

ONE would not necessarily have to be a confirmed admirer of France to appreciate this latest addition to works on the subject, and its title should not be taken to imply an impassioned pleading. It is a remarkably well-informed historical description of French industry and inventive genius in their relation to the natural and physical features of the country, the racial origins and the temperament of its inhabitants and the gradual modifications brought about by scientific and mechanical progress. The stabilising influence of the peasant and small landholder in the French economic structure has heretofore received ample attention, but Mr. Brangwyn shows quite clearly the similar influence exercised by the artisan and small producer. One should not forget either that in France these two classes are constantly overlapping in a manner calculated to confound trade-union regulations and advocates of the forty-hour week: some of the most stubborn opposition to this short-lived piece of legislation by the well-intentioned popular-front government came from the small workshops of the artisans and peasant craftsmen, who in many cases carry on according to methods and traditions deeply rooted in the past. Their number is astonishingly large for a modern industrial state—about two millions, or the equivalent of one in twenty of the total population.

Mr. Brangwyn describes many communities, both large and small, in which these descendants of the ancient guilds of France have perpetuated the traditions of their craft. His tour has not been directed by the "Guides bleus" or by the various "Syndicats d'initiative," but by the local archives; the authorities he has consulted are those unassuming yet marvellously competent functionaries, the town librarian or the conservator of the local museum. Of each in turn he has

asked the question: "How do you account for the fact that, although all the reasons for your medieval existence have vanished, you are still alive?" In each case the answer has revealed a miniature local epic of tenacity, ingenuity and integrity. With insight and understanding, yet carefully avoiding any display of erudition, Mr. Brangwyn has given his simple travels by train, over routes that with few exceptions are tourist agency commonplaces, the glamour of romantic adventure. His heroes belong almost exclusively to the past, often to the very distant past, but the familiar humanity with which their recorder has endowed them leaves the reader with an impression that all those who know France must inevitably feel—an impression of an enduring indestructible humanity as self-contained in relation to time as the country of France is complete and self-sufficient within its boundaries of sea and mountain. In view of the struggle which has just begun in Europe, this must provide some measure of comfort.

—J. G. ANDISON.

Oxford Pamphlets

The Oxford Press has put out a new series of pamphlets on current international topics which thoroughly deserve the attention of intelligent readers. The average length is 32 pages and the price 10c. The first seven pamphlets are available; every one is worth reading. *THE PROSPECTS OF CIVILIZATION* by Sir Alfred Zimmern is an excellent analysis of the fundamental difficulties facing the modern world—moral, economic and political. We still need the long view of things to temper the immediate despair. From the sorry tale of the failure of the international system we must learn to build better when the time comes. *THE BRITISH EMPIRE* by H. V. Hodson, as the author explicitly warns the reader, deals mainly with the legal and consti-

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tutional relations between the self-governing members of the Commonwealth; it has something to say on the much disputed right to neutrality in time of war. Empire trade is briefly discussed, as well as shipping and migration. References to the colonial empire are purely incidental. In **MEIN KAMPF** Mr. R. C. K. Ensor gives a brief but very illuminating commentary on Hitler's book, particularly the sections dealing with German foreign policy, which are well integrated with the Hitlerian theories of race and Lebensraum. Mr. Ensor shows Hitler as the ruthless and fanatic "idealist"—in the sense that he owes his power to his complete devotion to an idea. This pamphlet can be highly recommended to those who have read *Mein Kampf*, as well as to those who have not.

ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY is a very clear explanation of "autarky", the desire for self-sufficiency both for war purposes and in trade relations, how impossible and contrary to progress it is. Professor Fisher is not satisfied with merely condemning Italy and Germany; he rightly insists that we must not overlook the same tendencies in our own countries. Very good and very well written. **"RACE" IN EUROPE** by Julian Huxley analyses the background and origin of group sentiment, the psychological basis of the dangerous and absurd race theories now current in Germany. He exposes the myth of Aryanism, and ridicules the whole absurd theory of purity of race, which has no scientific foundation. The pamphlet is largely based on the author's recent book "We Europeans", written in collaboration with A. C. Haddon. Both should be read by those who, while joining in condemnation of the Nazi theories of race, only too easily fall into the very same absurdities themselves.

In **THE FOURTEEN POINTS AND THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES** Mr. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy deals with the specific point of the relation between Wilson's promises and the treaty, and his essay is a rebuttal of the charge that the latter did not conform to the former, especially if the reservations made at the time of the Armistice of 1918 are taken into account. The argument is somewhat legal and academic; the case made is better than might be expected, but it hardly touches the fundamental considerations of justice and expediency. It deals mainly with Colonies, Reparations, the treatment of Russia, the Rhineland, and disarmament. But it is what followed Versailles that is of vital importance.

BRIEFS

THE ARROGANT HISTORY OF WHITE BEN: by Clemence Dane; Doubleday, Doran; pp. 355; \$2.75.

FANTASY, the attempt to impose the incredible on the actual, is one of the most difficult forms of fiction. Only a writer of imagination, dexterity and resourcefulness, all of the highest order, can bring it off successfully. And such a writer can easily fail if the material itself is too stubborn or too significantly weighted with message.

In "The Moon is Feminine" Clemence Dane succeeded brilliantly, achieving a consistent and magical balance from first to last between the incredible and the believable. In her latest novel "The Arrogant History of White Ben" she is less fortunate. This was perhaps inevitable for here Miss Dane is dealing more or less allegorically with Fascism and Dictatorship, and her wit and imagination are very soon at the mercy of her moral earnestness.

The author sets her period at the end of the 1950's and makes her central character a scarecrow who wrenches

himself free of the soil and stomps off on his rake-leg to become dictator of England. Thus she has taken her fantasy straight out of the headlines, with the result that she is soon bogged down in the factual nightmare of our times. As fantasy White Ben is a very dull bewildered scarecrow. As fact, with warning attached, he is no more fantastic than many of the great men of our period. He is a mystical creature, innocent of compassion or morality, whose enemies are the crows "with black coats and long beaks." Gradually his obsession is translated into power and his bird-enemies become his fellow creatures . . . Miss Dane has tried to escape the obvious by keeping her symbolism vague but the result is neither arresting for our imagination nor clarifying for our indignation.

—MARY LOWREY ROSS.

WORKERS ABROAD: G. P. Jones; Nelson (Discussion Books); pp. 183; 60c .

MR. Jones here offers a brief history of the labour movement, and of labour conditions, in continental Europe and the United States. The treatment is too superficial to interest the specialist or the student who aspires to a real understanding; but this limitation could scarcely be avoided in so small a compass. The book should be valuable to the general reader who "wishes to get to know something about it." Though clearly sympathetic to the claims of labour the author keeps himself in the background, and this comparative lack of interpretation is a merit in a small book in which, moreover, the narrative of events is balanced by a proper attention to the theory which went with them. The writing is simple and direct and never dull; and the book is furnished with a bibliography and an index. Apart from its value as an introduction to

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its subject, it may perform the incidental service of reaching the hearts of those who have hitherto been ignorant or indifferent. We read, among other things, of the conditions of the workers in one country after another. Even in this bare recital, innocent of any appeal to emotion or imagination, the mere necessities of the case cause such words as "misery" and "degradation" to appear and reappear with tragic effect. Perhaps some socialists may be led to realize that there is in Marxism too much of Hegel for it to be very realistic or humane, and some professing Christians to wonder why it is that their churches remained and remain indifferent or hostile satellites of repression and contented apostates from one whom they mock when they call him "Lord."

R. E. K. P.

AIR STRATEGY FOR BRITONS: "Ajax"; Nelson (Allen and Unwin); pp. 143; \$1.00.

"AJAX" has always dissented from the prevalent view that the bomber will always get through. Now that the bombing of European capitals is a nightmare ever-present to the minds of all, we may perhaps derive some comfort and hope from this able and full discussion of air-warfare, in which the author asserts that such raids are unlikely to be successful, will be exceedingly costly to the attacker, and may well never be attempted. Air forces, according to him are needed at the front, to a depth of 100 miles at most, to operate in conjunction with the armies against military objectives, including towns. "Ajax" is severely critical of British air policy in the past; it is not clear what changes have been made in recent months. One chapter is a full and detailed description of effective defence against air attacks on home targets. The author's criticism is constructive throughout, his experience vouched for by the foreword of Lt.-Col. Raynsford, and his book very interesting indeed, even to the layman.

WHY WAR?: C. E. M. Joad; Collins (Penguin Special); pp. 247; 20c.

PROFESSOR Joad is well known as a popular writer on both philosophy and pacifism. He here restates the cases against war. He reviews the history of Europe and the policies of the various governments since 1918 in this light, up to and including the Munich settlement. All those who hope that the present war will be followed by a better peace than the last will find in this book much of interest: war is today admitted on all sides to be a terrible instrument; its dangers regarding the future of a democracy at home may be somewhat mitigated by a full realization of their nature. Professor Joad always writes well and vigorously. He has a special talent for the discussion of difficult problems in a way that makes them real and significant to the average man. This book is no exception.

YOU AND THE REFUGEE: Norman Angell and Dorothy Frances Buxton; Collins (Penguin Special); pp. 279; 20c.

THERE is some danger that in this world catastrophe we shall, from necessity and self-defence, become much more callous to human suffering. Before that happens, let us make some effort not to forget entirely the fate of the wretched refugees—how many hundreds of thousands more will there be before the war is over?

Norman Angell and Dorothy Buxton have dealt with the subject most competently. Under four heads: "Where a bad refugee policy will lead us," "The Problem in Human Terms," "The Economics of Freer Migration," and "What British Policy is and What it might be" they tell the story simply and convincingly. Much of their programme could be carried out, even in war-time.

CHESTERTON AS SEEN BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES: Cyril Clemens; International Mark Twain Soc.; pp. 180; \$2.50.

MR. Clemens is a cousin of Mark Twain but he is not letting Mark's bones lie without rattling in their grave. As sole proprietor of the "International Mark Twain Society" Mr. Clemens recently issued an unworthy pseudo-biography of Mark. He follows it now with a jumbled collection of reminiscences of Chesterton, evidently secured by writing other celebrities and publishing whatever replies they sent.

Mr. Clemens himself is the owner of a vile style, a bad proof-readers' eye, and a political fatuity which leads him to dedicate his book to "Benito Mussolini, a warm admirer of Chesterton and his work."

There are moments, however, in which the book does call up the vigorous and witty personality of G.K.C. One can be grateful at least, in these days, for the author's reminder that Chesterton though he did not speak out against the last war did speak out against the kind of peace that followed it, in lines which deserve reprinting:

Oh, they that fought for England,
Following a fallen star,
Alas, alas, for England!
They have their graves afar.
But they that ruled in England
In stately conclave met,
Alas, alas, for England!
They have no graves as yet.

—E. B.

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Under Three Flags: Margaret B. Pumphrey; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 293; \$3.00.

Produced primarily for the juvenile trade, this is nevertheless a book which can inform and interest the average adult. It is a simple illustrated story of San Diego, most southerly city of California. Beginning with the arrival, before the terrified eyes of Indian villagers, of Spanish ships in 1550, Margaret Pumphrey traces imaginatively the golden age of the missions; the revolution which changed San Diego's flag from Spanish to Mexican; the absorption of California into the United States; and the change-over from rancho and rodeo to naval bases, fashionable hotels, and the world's greatest observatory.

Gringo Doctor: I. J. Bush, M.D.; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 261; \$3.00.

An American doctor here presents the autobiography of a career carved out amid the sands and sins of the far southwest. But it reads rather like a travelogue than an autobiography, for the author is a stranger to introspection and character-analysis and without interest in general ideas. Ideas apart, he has lived a full life, and in spite of a naïveté which will at times startle both the sociologist and the literary critic has succeeded in telling his story fairly well. The book contains many absorbing descriptions and exciting anecdotes, and the good doctor's generous support for a popular cause may, for all I know, offer some new material for the historian of Madero's revolution.

—R. E. K. P.

The Attack From Within: F. Elwyn Jones; Collins (Penguin Special); pp. 213; 20c.

A discussion of Nazi-Fascist policies and methods of propaganda. Events have moved so fast in recent weeks that such a discussion is apt to date very quickly. This is only partially true of Mr. Jones' book in so far as he did not foresee the volte face in Communist policy. As a study of Nazi methods of penetration the book is of considerable interest, and so are the facts and figures relating to the economic position of Germany. Nor are his suggestions regarding the future by any means irrelevant.

The Political and Social Doctrine of Communism: R. Palme Dutt; Longmans (Hogarth); pp. 44; 35c.

Mr. Dutt briefly describes the evils of capitalism, proclaims Communism as the only alternative to barbarism and then proceeds to explain that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only way to power. The Social-Democrats are still, in Germany and everywhere else, the villains of the piece. All this is, or used to be, very familiar. Abruptly we are then introduced to the necessity for the Popular or United Front with these self-same villains, but Mr. Dutt makes it very clear, though not explicit, that the partners to this union, will in the end have to be converted or liquidated.

"The Communists are the most consistent fighters for democracy at every stage"—those last three words are delightful! How simple it must be to be so sure that, whatever may happen, one never has to revise one's formula. Mr. Dutt's formula for Fascism (for that matter for Communism) is not only too simple but has been, at least in part, proved wrong by events.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention in this list does not preclude review in this or a later issue.)

The Revolution of Nihilism: Herman Rauschning; Longmans Green; pp. 300; \$3.50.

Stalin: Boris Souvarine; Longmans Green; pp. 690; \$4.50.

Lost Liberty? Joan and Jonathan Griffin; Oxford University Press; pp. 290; \$2.75.

Nietzsche: Heinrich Mann; Longmans Green (Living Thought Series); pp. 169; \$1.25.

Darwin: Julian Huxley; Longmans Green; pp. 151; \$1.25.

Mazzini: Ignazio Silone; Longmans Green; pp. 167; \$1.25.

You And Heredity: Amram Scheinfeld; Stokes and Co.; pp. 434; \$3.25.

The Eskimo and His Reindeer in Alaska: C. L. Andrews; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 249; \$3.50.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association: S. D. Clark; University of Toronto; pp. 107; \$2.00.

The Development of Keynes' Economic Theories: Tjardus Greinardus; P. S. King (London); 2s.

Workers Abroad: G. P. Jones; Nelson (Discussion Books); pp. 183; 60c.

The Character of British Imperialism: Vincent Harlow; Longmans Green; pp. 38; 45c.

The People's War: I. Epstein; Ryerson (Gollancz); pp. 384; \$2.00.

This is the Place: Marguerite Cameron; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 338; \$3.00.

The Children of God: Vardis Fisher; Musson (Harper); pp. 769; \$3.00.

Christ In Concrete: Petro di Donato; McClelland and Stewart (Bobbs Merrill); pp. 311; \$2.50.

The Red Kite, poems: Lloyd Frankenberg; Oxford University Press (Farar Rinehart); pp. 95; \$2.00.

The Struggle for Peace: The Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain; Thomas Allen; pp. 434; \$3.00.

Cross Country: poems by Alan Creighton; Macmillan; pp. 68; \$2.00.

Sons of the Sun: Ada Nelson; The Shakespeare Head Press, Oxford; pp. 24; 2/6.

The Case Against Experience Rating in Unemployment Compensation: Richard A. Lester and Charles V. Kidd; Industrial Relations Counselors, New York; pp. 60; \$1.00.

The Building of the West, The Life of General William Jackson Palmer: John S. Fisher; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 332; \$3.50.

Holidays with Betty Sue and Sally Lou: Ruth Gibson Plowhead; Copp Clark (Caxton); pp. 234; \$2.50.

Three Worlds. An anthology of stories and poems by young Armenian writers in the United States; Hairenik Press, Boston; pp. 305; \$2.50.

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